

# THE CIVILIZATION OF THE EAST

BY DR. FRITZ  
HOMMEL

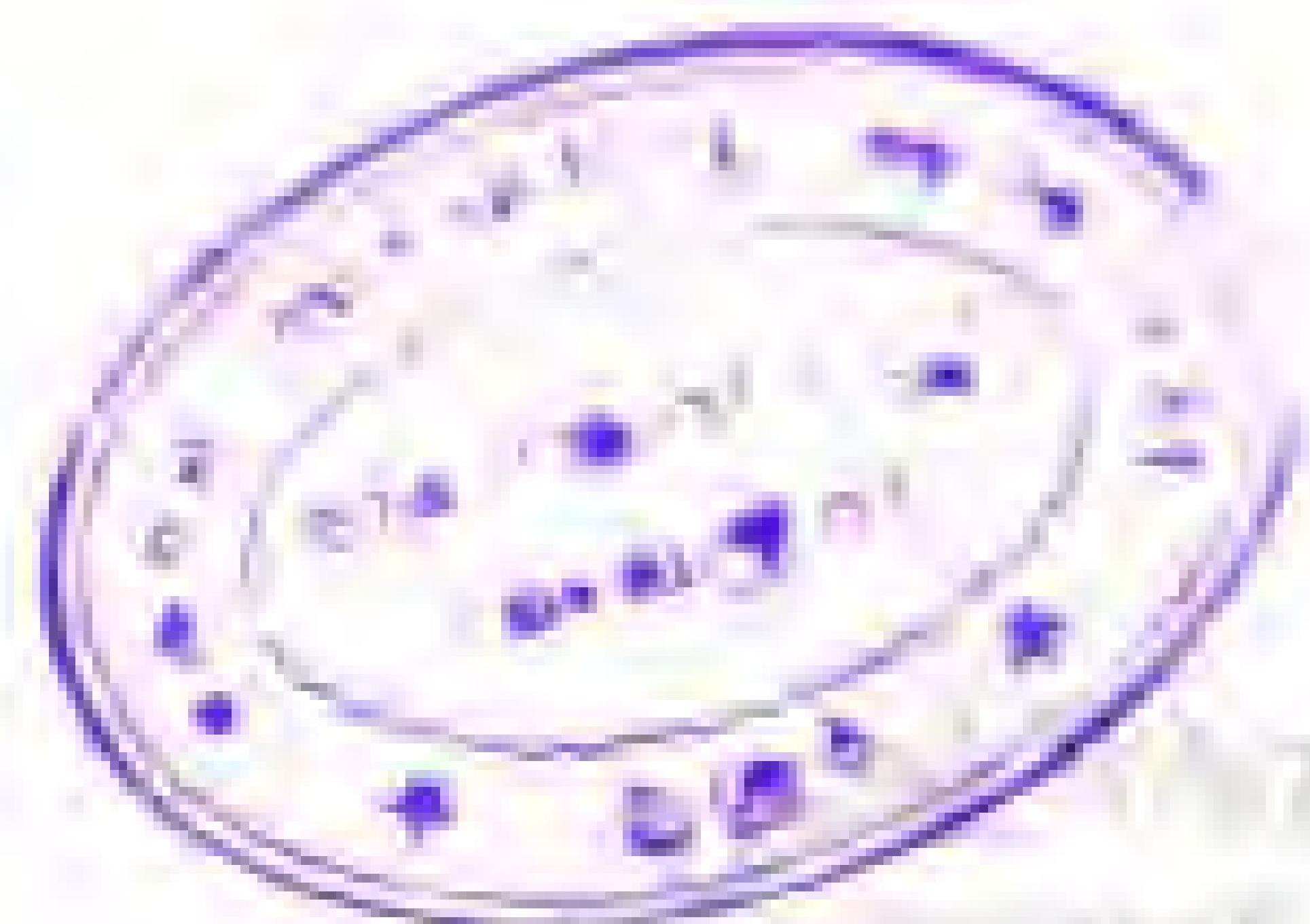
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*THE TEMPLE PRIMERS*



**THE  
CIVILIZATION OF THE EAST**

Translated from the German of

**DR FRITZ HOMMEL**

**By J. H. LOEWE**



GATES OF HADES

**THE  
CIVILIZATION  
OF THE EAST**

**BY DR. FRITZ  
HOMMEL**

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## INTRODUCTION

S. I. History of the East: (In Maxima and Scra.)—That part of the World which is generally known as 'The East' comprises not only Higher Asia with its various States, but also India; and China, the 'Far East,' also belongs to Far East to the sphere of the Orient.

And yet, in dealing with Ancient Oriental History, we always—and rightly so—exclude India and China, for the reason that, although the Chinese, like the Egyptians, derive their earliest culture from Babylonia, the 'Middle Kingdom' has run its own historical course, unaffected by the history of its Western Asiatic neighbour, and is consequently of little interest to us.

On the other hand, the history of Western Asia contains the records of the culture that has become ours; it is the prelude to that of Hellas and Rome. In its earliest stages, it is the history of Babylonia and Egypt, the most ancient States of culture in the world; in its further course, it embraces the fortunes of little Palestine between the two empires, and supplies an effective background, and often a key, to Bible-History; and it finally forms the bridge by which the dominion of the World, and the chief rule in civilisation, pass over to the Lands of the West, which, a thousand years before, had already received from the East the Art of Writing and a system of Weights and Measures, the fundamental bases of true culture.

India is also excluded from our consideration, because its culture is in the main an offshoot of the Chinese, and its history as a matter of fact only begins where that of Higher Asia leaves off, i.e. with the advent of Buddha. Its many connections with Palestine, Babylonia, and

Assyria would alone be sufficient to justify the prominent part which Egypt is found to take in every narrative of early Eastern history, although it does not at first sight appear to belong rightly to Hither Asia; but there is a further justification to be found not only in the character of the very soil of Egypt, which is far more Asiatic than African, but also in the fact—fresh proofs of which we are now discovering almost daily—that in earliest ages Egypt received its first settlers, as well as its entire culture, from Babylonia.

**I. a. Sources of History.**—In former times the sources of Oriental History were almost entirely limited to the information handed down by Roman and Greek writers, which was mostly of a very unreliable character, whilst of purely native information we possessed only the books of the Old Testament, which in the first instance deal with Palestine, and a few fragments by the later Babylonian and Egyptian historians, Berossus, who lived at the time of Alexander the Great, and Manetho; but even these fragments are only in Greek translation. A great change was brought about by the interpretation and scientific study of the inscriptions on Babylono-Assyrian and Egyptian monuments which began about the middle of the present century. Many thousands of cuneiform texts and hieroglyphic inscriptions, amongst them numerous historical documents, have been unearthed by means of a series of systematic excavations, and may now be read and translated with the same ease as any difficult Hebrew text or Greek inscription. Temples and palaces, some of them from the earliest times, now speak to us not only through their pictorial representations, so important for the history of civilization, but also through walls covered with often sacred inscriptions, and literary treasures found amidst their ruins on clay-tablets or, as in Egypt, on papyrus-rolls found under the ruins of their walls. It is evident that the science of Oriental languages and Eastern antiquities has thereby been turned into entirely new channels, and that there could

have been no question of ever writing a possible History of Higher Asia until these inscriptions were deciphered.

**§ 3. Hieroglyphics and Cuneiform Inscriptions: (Tunc Interpretatio.)**—The foundation-stone for the interpretation of cuneiform writing was laid by a German, Georg Friedrich Grotefend by name, in the year 1802; whilst J. Frédéric Champollion, a Frenchman, began to decipher hieroglyphics in the twenties. The latter, assisted by the bi-lingual inscription—Egyptian and Greek—on the so-called Rosetta Stone discovered in 1799, was able, prior to his early death in 1832, to complete the main portion of his work; whilst two Englishmen, Rawlinson and Hincks, and a German, Jelmer Oppert, did similar but far more difficult work in connection with cuneiform inscriptions in the forties and fifties.

These decipherments are rightly regarded as one of the greatest achievements of the century.

With the help of the bi-lingual inscription on the Rosetta Stone, which thus gave the key to the interpretation of hieroglyphics, it gradually became possible, by going from easy to more difficult texts, to decipher the entire maze of alphabetic and syllabic signs, determinatives and ideograms (single signs which express whole words), amounting in all to over a thousand hieroglyphs.

Although considerable assistance herein was afforded by the Coptic, a daughter-language or derivative of Old Egyptian, with its Christian literature written in Greek letters, the merit of the Frenchman Champollion and his French, English, and German followers remains very great. A beginning was made by the interpretation of the names *Ptolemaios*, *Alexandros*, and *Amasis*, which were written in simple letters of the alphabet; but as hieroglyphic writing comprises not only the twenty-four letters, which act as aids to reading, but also many other combinations and complications, we can well imagine the difficulties of the task and the mental acumen of the French savant who so successfully overcame them.

Had the circumstances in both cases been equally favourable, it might have been easier to decipher cuneiform than hieroglyphic writing, as Babylo-Assyrian possessed exclusively syllabic signs and ideograms and no letters of the alphabet, whilst the application of the ideograms is more limited than in hieroglyphics, since there are about 1000 of the latter to only about 400 cuneiform signs. But at the very outset two totally different systems of cuneiform had to be mastered—Ancient Persian, which was simpler and only boasted of about fifty signs, and Babylo-Assyrian. There was no derivative language to serve as an auxiliary, and there was no other key than the Ancient Persian inscriptions, which were yet to be deciphered.

Darius and Xerxes, the Achaemenid kings, had left a number of inscriptions in three languages, but all in cuneiform. As was afterwards discovered, the first column was always Ancient Persian, the second Sogdian, and the third Babylo-Assyrian. In order to decipher the last named, the so-called 'Third Class,' which was soon ascertained to be identical, as regards character and writing, with the monolingual cuneiform texts found in Nineveh and Babylon, scholars proceeded to make a preliminary attempt upon the Ancient Persian language, the first of the three columns, which was far less complicated and only consisted of about fifty different signs.

It was Croucford whose mental acumen led him to recognise in the monuments discovered in Persepolis the inscriptions of the Achaemenids, and to settle by further study and inference, with but few mistakes, the two following groups, 'Darius, great king, king of kings . . . Son of Hystaspes the Achaemenid,' and 'Xerxes, great king, king of kings . . . Son of Darius the king, the Achaemenid.' It was now a reasonable inference that this cuneiform writing of the First Column contained the Indo-Germanic idiom of the Ancient Persian Achaemenid Kings. On the basis of this assumption, Barthouf and Lassen, the famous Sanscrit and Zend scholars, and Henry

|  |   |  |   |
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|  |   |  |   |
| The first two columns of Hieroglyphs from the Pyramid Texts. | The third column of Hieroglyphs from the Pyramid Texts.   | The fourth column of Hieroglyphs from the Pyramid Texts. | The fifth column of Hieroglyphs from the Pyramid Texts. |
|  |   |  |   |
| The sixth column of Hieroglyphs from the Pyramid Texts.      | The seventh column of Hieroglyphs from the Pyramid Texts. | The eighth column of Hieroglyphs from the Pyramid Texts. | The ninth column of Hieroglyphs from the Pyramid Texts. |

FIG. 1.—Hieroglyphs from the Pyramid Texts, showing the signs of the four quarters.

Rawlinson, an English officer of great acumen, succeeded in the thirties and forties in completely deciphering the Ancient Persian column of the tri-lingual texts, down to the minor details.

Thus was obtained the key for the further interpretation of the more difficult Babyl.-Assyrian cuneiform of the Third Column.

The chief merit in having solved this new problem is due to Sir Henry Rawlinson, who published his *Mémoire on the Babylonian and Assyrian Inscriptions* in the year 1851, and thus prepared the ground for individual philological research, which at that same time was furthered by the English and French excavations in Nineveh and Babylon by Layard, Ross and others, which brought to light a large number of new inscriptions.

Hincks, J. Oppert of Paris, and, later on, E. Schrader (about 1870), are familiar names in the field of Assyriology. The last named transplanted the study of Oriental Inscriptions to Germany, and through him the German savants became acquainted with all the results achieved in this branch in France and England. The further philological researches applied by Friedrich Delitzsch and his school shortly afterwards to the newly acquired Babyl.-Assyrian language soon set this study on a level with the other branches of Semitic-Oriental studies.

§ 4. Physical Geography of the East.<sup>1</sup>—The Highlands of Higher Asia embrace the provinces of Iran, Armenia, and Asia Minor, and exhibit a marked similarity to Central Asia.

The mountain-ranges in both regions consist of strata with strongly developed convolutions. The extensive tablelands enclosed by the former are not built up of horizontal deposits, but were subsequently formed by the combined action of debris, boulders, sand, and dust, later filling up the basins between these ranges. The Syro-Arabian tablelands

<sup>1</sup> The author of this chapter is Dr. Heiderich, of Mondling, Vienna.

which join on to the Western Highlands of Higher Asia are of a totally different type, and consist of flat, straight layers; indeed they are merely a continuation of the African desert-plain interrupted by the basin into which the Red Sea pours. The different levels and the deep valleys embedded here and there in the tableland should be regarded as the result of stretching, disruption, and falling-in. The boundary between the land of folded strata (Asiatic type) and of flat strata (African type) is the Persian Gulf, on the west side of which the Arabian tableland breaks off, while the mountain-ranges of Zagros in Iran rise up in folded strata on the east.

Further north-west, the boundary is hidden by the alluvial Lowlands of Mesopotamia, and only reappears on the right shore of the Upper Tigris, where there is a strongly marked difference between the folded strata of the Armenian highlands and the land of flat strata. The further course of the boundary can be clearly followed along a line running from Diarbekr in a south-westerly direction through Aintab towards Latakia on the Mediterranean.

In common with Central Asia, there is in Higher Asia (including the Syro-Arabian tablelands) a marked contrast between the interior territories, which are undrained and poorly watered, and partake rather of the character of steppes or deserts, and the provinces on the borders, which possess abundant watercourses and flourishing towns. These undrained regions are to be found extensively on the Iranian tablelands and in Arabia, and over smaller areas in Syria, Palestine, Asia Minor, and Armenia.

#### I. THE IRANIAN TABLELAND.

The Iranian tableland comprises Persia, the south-western portion of Afghanistan, and Beluchistan. It is bounded on the north, west, and south by huge mountain-ranges between which spreads out a highland not completely level, but having here and there chains of high mountains which stand

out in bold relief. The mountain-ranges on the northern borders are the Alburz, the Koper-Dagh, and the Gulean, leading to the Paropanisus and thence to the Hindu Kush; those in the south are commonly called the Zagros Chains.

These mountains are formed chiefly of nummulitic limestone, and are extremely rugged and torn asunder. They rise to a height exceeding 5000 metres above the level of the sea, the highest peak being Kub-i-dara, which is 5180 metres high. The Zagros Chain is mostly bare of trees; here and there we find a few scanty forests of oaks. On the other hand, many of the deep and far-stretching basins between the various chains are abundantly watered, and consequently possess luxuriant vegetation. In one of these basins, at an altitude of 2555 metres, lies the well-known town of Shiraz, celebrated in song and book for its glorious roses and excellent wine.

The rivers flowing from the Zagros Mountains to the sea are not navigable on account of their rapids, gulches, and falls. The most important river is the Sefid Rud, which flows into the Persian Gulf to the north of Bender Bushehr. Beyond the South Persian chains of folded strata, there are the highlands of the interior, which have no drainage and extend to the North Persian border mountains; in character and features they are a most dreary wilderness. On the slopes of the hills there are deserts of stone and boulders of every description; in the lower-lying parts the land partakes of the character of steppes, salt plains, and sandy deserts. There is a scarcity of water everywhere, and consequently only poor vegetation, chiefly thorn-bushes. This is due to the fact that the moisture of the atmosphere is already precipitated in the northern and southern border hills. For this reason there are also no large watercourses and no deep river-valleys.

The few streams which develop into rivers, like the Sayende Rud, near Isfahan, soon empty themselves into lakes or shallow salt-marshes. The highlands are traversed from south-west to north-east by the Kohrud Mountains,

a rugged and precipitous range, extending for 1,500 kilometres and forming, as it were, the backbone of Iran.

The most favourable physical conditions are to be found in the Alpine lands of Aderbeijan, the Altopasene of the ancients. It is not quite such a wilderness as the other Persian Highlands, but is partially cultivated, and has abundant vegetation wherever there is any water. The Lake of Urmia, lying deep in the Highlands, and remarkable for its large percentage of salt, is surrounded by a chain of snow-capped mountains. Towards the west, Aderbeijan is less securely enclosed, there being only a small rising which separates it from the Van Lake. The Northern Border Hills of the Iranian Highlands are called the Alburz Mountains. They stretch along the southern shore of the Caspian Sea, and have the same southward fold and bow-shaped curve as the Central Asiatic Chains. Porphyry and recent volcanic stone are to be found there in large quantities, especially in Demavend, the highest mountain in Persia (5,465 metres), a volcano which does not appear to be quite extinct.

### 2. THE ARMENIAN HIGHLANDS AND MESOPOTAMIA.

Aderbeijan leads from the Iranian to the Armenian Highlands, which are situated between the valleys of the Kur and Rion in the north, and the Lowlands of Mesopotamia in the south. Armenia has an average altitude of from 1,600 to 1,800 metres, and is the highest part of Higher Asia. The skeleton of the land consists of ranges of mountains with a base of old crystalline formations, with extensive palaeozoic, mesozoic, and tertiary overlying layers. The folded chains are frequently interrupted and covered by recent volcanic deposits to such an extent that the latter decide the shape of the greater portion of the surface of Armenia.

In point of configuration Armenia offers a kaleidoscopic picture of small plateaux and longer and shorter mountain-

ranges. There are numerous magnificent lakes, the largest being the Van Lake and the Goktcha or Sevings Lake. The highest peak of the Armenian Highlands is the Great Ararat, a volcano 5156 metres high, connected with the Little Ararat (3916 metres) by a ridge of 14 kilometres length stretching south-east.

The Great Ararat is a gigantic, well-rounded cone, covered by eternal snows, with a diameter of about 40 kilometres at the base. According to biblical tradition, Noah's Ark is said to have rested on its summit, whence spread downwards vast fields of snow and glaciers to a depth of 1000 metres. A volcanic eruption in the year 1840 buried the village of Arguri, and shows that the activity of the volcano is not yet exhausted.

A characteristic feature of all Armenian mountains is the scarcity of forests, of which only a few unimportant ones live on at an altitude of 2000-2500 metres. The valleys, however, are luxuriant and fresh, and there is no lack of beautiful trees, but the only forest-trees are beech and oak, whilst maple, birch, and pine trees are less frequent. The vine flourishes notably in the plains of the Central Araxes, a tributary of the Kur.

All kinds of fruit, with the exception of those of the south, are abundant and excellent. Amongst the produce of the field, they cultivate wheat, corn, maize, millet, rago, beans, and a little rice, and in the south-west mulberries and cotton.

The Euphrates takes its rise in Western Armenia, whilst the Tigris has its source in the Southern Border Hills, the Armenian Taurus, not in the Interior Highlands. Following the courses of these rivers we descend from the Highlands of Armenia to the Lowlands of Mesopotamia, which extend between the Persian Zagros ranges in the east and the Syrian tableland in the west. Mesopotamia is divided into two parts, Upper Mesopotamia, which reaches as far as the first point where the Euphrates and Tigris approach one another, near Bagdad, and Lower

Mesopotamia, an alluvial plain of conspicuous flatness, without any varying heights, stretching southwards to the Persian Gulf. Upper Mesopotamia is filled by hilly country of a maximum height of 500 metres, consisting of mesozoic and tertiary formations, and basalt, the product of recent eruptions, more especially to the north and south of Urfa, and south and east of Sinjar. At many points, the chains of hills abut so closely on the Euphrates and Tigris as to make the two streams impassable. The entire area of Upper Mesopotamia is one monotonous desert table-land where only a few stunted tamarisks, bramble-wood, and plants of the wilderness flourish, but no trees whatsoever. The Euphrates, which in its course through the hills receives the Nahr Belikh and the Chabor on its left, enters perfectly level territory above Hit. Here is the spot where all the numerous canals of antiquity, which also water the site of Ancient Babylon, begin to branch off. On the left bank of the river there are extensive marshes, of which the largest is the Lake Bahr Nejef.

In ancient and mediæval times, Lower Mesopotamia, between Bagdad and the confluence of the Euphrates and Tigris, was a highly cultivated tract of land. But when the rule of the Caliphs came to an end, the works for drainage and irrigation were allowed gradually to fall into decay, and the country was transformed into a region of wilderness, marsh, and steppe. The only remnants of cultivation still visible are to be found along the few remaining canals the waters of which often cover the land for months at a time. The Tigris enters the plains at Mosul (350 metres), and branches out below this town as far as Bagdad (40 metres) in numerous arms. From the Zagros Mountains it receives the Great and Little Zab and the Diyala, and near Bagdad flows through a region of extreme fertility, producing wheat, barley, darrab, rice, and dates in abundance. In Lower Mesopotamia it sends out several arms to the Euphrates, and eventually forms a junction with the latter in the thirty-first degree of northern latitude.

The combined river is now called Shatt-el-Arab. It flows through low-lying, level, and fruitful plains, with villages and date-groves all along its banks, in the direction of the Persian Gulf, which it finally reaches 90 kilometres below Basra. The delta of the mouth of the river commences about 70 kilometres above Mohametab, and is under water several months of the year. Of all the numerous arms formed at the mouth only a single one is navigable.

### g. Asia Minor.

Asia Minor displays great variety in the configuration of its surface, and is bounded by mountain-ranges both in the north and south. In the north they bear the name of the Pontic Coast Hills, and traverse Bithynia, Paphlagonia, and Pontus.

With the exception of a few narrow strips on the coast there are no plains; the sides of the mountains, which are covered with forests, fall in a steep incline directly into the shores of the Black Sea. However, there is a more gradual slope of the hills in the direction of the Interior Highlands. Several rivers which traverse the latter in wide curves penetrate the Coast Mountains and empty themselves into the Black Sea, e.g. the Sakaria, the Kizil Irnak (the ancient Halys), the largest body of water in Asia Minor, and the Yesil Irnak. The boundary towards the Armenian Highlands is formed by the Tchoreck, which reaches the shores of the Black Sea near Batoum.

The Taurus is the name given to the mountains forming the southern boundary. Under various other names, such as the Kanly-Dagh, or the Gyast-Dagh, the Eastern Taurus Chain extends from Armenia towards the Gulf of Iskenderun. One branch of the Gyast Chain is thrown out towards the south and is called the Alma-Dagh or Amanus, which terminates abruptly at the sea in the Jebel Ahmar or Mossa. A continuation of this range is found in the

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mountains of Cyprus, which consist of two arching halves, and in the Troodos reach a height of 1952 metres.

The Gyar-Dagh range terminates in the north in the valley of Sihan (Pyramus). Going still farther north over rugged mountainous country, we reach the Antitaurus, which is enclosed by the rivers Göksu and Samanci Tchai, which are the sources from which arises the river Sihan. The highest peaks are good metres above the level of the sea.

To the west of Samanci Tchai the Cilician Taurus begins to develop, and is joined in Paniphylia by the Lycian Taurus; this extends as far as the river Dsalaman, which debouches opposite Rhodes. The Cilician Taurus is wall-like and compact, whilst the Lycian Taurus appears to be divided in several portions owing to the erosion of the numerous coast rivers. The highest peak is the Medelis, 3500 metres high. To the east of this mountain the celebrated Cilician Passes lead from the interior of Asia Minor to the coast plains of Adana.

If we cross the Taurus Mountains, we reach the Interior Highlands, which have no outlet in the south, but are drained in the north by the streams flowing into the Black Sea. The territory which has no outlet consists partly of steppes and partly of salt deserts. Many salt lakes are embedded in the plateaus, which has a height of 800 to 1000 metres, as the Tuz Tchölli, the Kirili Gal (the Karalitis of Strabo), and the picturesque Lake of Egendiz. In solitary grandeur in the midst of the extensive Highlands rises majestically the mighty but now extinct volcano Eryas, known to the ancients as the Argæus, the highest peak (3850 metres) of Asia Minor. To the west of the 30th degree of eastern longitude, the character of the land changes. The extensive plateaux disappear. The country looks as if it were sown through and divided up into single chains running from W. to E. and enclosing very fertile valleys along the rivers, such as the valley of the Menderes (Meander) and the Gediz (Hermus). Unlike those of

the north and south coasts, the valleys of the west afford a convenient connection with the Interior Highlands, and were already in older times flourishing, cultured States.

Facing the western coast of Asia Minor there are numerous little islands which are merely fragmentary remnants of a former connection by land between Asia Minor and the Balkan Peninsula, which was not destroyed until the comparatively recent implosion of the Aegean Sea. These islands are for the most part nothing but chalk-deposits; Rhodes is the most southerly, Tenedos the most northerly island.

#### 4. Syria and Palestine.

If we cross the Taurus Mountains, we enter the area of the Syro-Arabian plateaux.

From a geological point of view there is much uniformity in the character of Syria. We nowhere find any archæan or palæozoic rocks, and the lower members of mesozoic formations are also absent. To make up for it, chalk appears in rich development. It forms the major portion of the land of the Jordan, the Lebanon, and the sub-soil of the Syrian Desert. In the north of Syria there are still older tertiary formations extending from the parallel of Damascus to the southern border of the Taurus Mountains.

Some areas along the Euphrates, as well as the valley of the Jordan, are alluvial. Very remarkable is the appearance of young volcanic rocks, basalt, which are found east of the valley of the Jordan and in the Lebanon.

As already mentioned, the Syro-Arabian tableland is separated from Africa by the colossal depression of the Red Sea, which is continued in the Gulf of Suez. Another such depression is the Syro-Palestinian, which forms the Gulf of Akaba, then continues to the north-north-east over the Wadi Akaba in the cleft of the Jordan, and finally identifies itself with the depression in Cœlesyria or Bekâ'a between the Lebanon and the Anti-Lebanon.

The Jebel Ahsar or Musa is an offshoot of the Taurus, and terminates in the valley of the Orontes. To the south of the mouth of the Orontes, the Jebel Anzalyc range extends along the coast to a depression over which the road from Homs (490 metres) leads to Tarabulus. Cœlesyria begins south of Homs, stretching between Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon towards the south-west, and is a depression in the form of a long valley of very moderate breadth. The Lebanon and the Anti-Lebanon are the remaining fragments of a broken mass of land or crags, from the sides of which the earth has sunk down in terraces. These crags consist for the most part of horizontal layers of upper and middle chalk. The average height of the passes of the Lebanon is 1900 metres, but attains 3067 metres in the Dahr el Kedib.

Whilst deep snow covers the peaks of the land for many months of the year, the western valleys in the direction of the sea are carefully cultivated by their industrious inhabitants; and wherever on the shore or at the mouth of rivers abundant water favours agricultural pursuits, the luxuriant character of the vegetation transforms the land into a veritable garden. The average height of the passes of the Anti-Lebanon is 1600 metres, but the highest peak is the Jebel-es-Sheikh or the Great Hermon, which is 2759 metres high. Towards the east, the Anti-Lebanon descends in terraces to the Great Syrian Desert. Sleep and precipitation is the downward fall of the crags towards Cœlesyria or Bekâ'a, which lies between them. The latter is for the most part covered with a layer of soil well suited for cultivation, and if there are any large tracts still remaining untilled, it is only because of the imperfection of modern agriculture, as numerous ruins of former flourishing places bear witness to the prosperity which once reigned here. Cœlesyria is drained in the north by the Orontes, in the south by the Leontes and the Barada, which loses itself in the lakes of Hammectus.

We enter Palestine from the south of the Lebanon. The country of Palestine likewise consists of two chains of

crag enclosing the deep cleft of the Jordan or El Ghor. The western crags are the West Jordan Land, the eastern the East Jordan Land. The strip of low-lying land along the coast is Canaan, a name which is generally used to include the whole of the West Jordan Land. This narrow coast plain, which south of Jaffa is called Sephela and north of it Sharon, is, especially in Sharon, an extremely fertile alluvial soil, formerly the seat of flourishing settlements.

Beyond the low-lying plains along the sea-coast the land begins to rise in terraces up the West Jordan plateau to an average altitude of 800 metres. On this plateau Jerusalem is situated at a height of 770 metres above the level of the sea.

Only a few peaks here and there, as the Tell Asur (1011 metres), at a distance of 25 km. north from Jerusalem, exceed the mean level of the tableland. The West Jordan Land falls off first in terraces, then in steep and precipitous declivities towards the east to the depression of the Jordan.

The most southerly portion of this tableland is Judaea, a dreary, rocky region, with sparse vegetation, bramble-like pale-green thistles, and only deriving a more pleasant aspect from plants that bloom in the spring, and then only for a short period. Valleys with wild gorges plough up the land and fall off abruptly towards the Dead Sea (Brook Kidron). The hilly territory of Ephraim commences north of Jerusalem, and runs right through Samaria to the plain of Esdraelon or Jezreel.

The Jebel Karantai here is particularly well known. It is situated on a terrace of the plateau fronting the Jordan Land, is only 305 metres above the level of the sea, and falls off in very steep declivities to the plain of Jericho, which is 205 metres below the level of the sea.

The mountain-land of Ephraim is more fruitful than Judaea, and to this day well cultivated. The river Kishon—Nahr el Mukatta—flows through the plain of Esdraelon, which extends from south-east to north-west, and is now marshy in some parts, but still very fertile.

The Galilean mountain-land rises to the north of this plain. In the south, Galilee has a number of small level tracts of land, and in the north it abuts immediately on the Lebanon. The highest peak is the Jebel Jernik—1200 metres—at thirty-three degrees of northern latitude. Other well-known peaks are the Little Hermon (515 metres) and Tabor (561 metres).

The tableland of the East Jordan Land rises in steep terraces out of the cleft of the Jordan. It is a rocky wilderness, bare of all vegetation, and what configuration it has is only obtained through the erosion of rivers. Its altitude is between 800 and 1000 metres.

On its east rises the basaltic Jebel Hauran; this is a chain of hills which extends in a southerly direction, rising to a height of 1829 metres, and is covered with extinct craters. To the south there is a wide area of steppe-lands, called Hamath, which gradually joins the Syrian Desert.

The Jordan flows through El Ghor, and takes its rise in the Great Hermon. After a south-east course, it discharges into the Bahr el Hale or the Lake of Merom, which is only two metres above the level of the sea. Emerging thence, it flows through a narrow valley, 13 kilometres in length, with very steep sides, forms numerous waterfalls in its course, and reaches the Lake of Genesareth or Lake of Tiberias, which contains fish in abundance and lies 208 metres below the level of the sea. Leaving this lake, it meanders in countless windings for a distance of 310 kilometres through an extremely fertile plain, which under Turkish mismanagement has become quite desolate, receives many tributaries in its course, and finally discharges in two shallow arms into the Dead Sea. This is called in the Bible the Salt Sea or the Sea of the Wilderness; the Arabians call it 'Bahr Lut' (Lot's Sea), and it is the lowest depression on earth. Its level lies 324 metres below that of the sea. The water of this lake is bright and clear, but so salt (22 per cent.) that neither fish nor crustacea can live in it.

The vegetation of the Syrian coast-land belongs to the class of Mediterranean flora and is remarkable for its number of evergreen shrubs and quickly fading spring flowers. The vegetation of the Oriental steppes commences east of the Lebanon and the Jordan Land, conspicuous by its many varieties, its scant growth of trees, and numerous thorn-bushes. The forests of the Syrian coast-lands consist chiefly of the *Platanus Orientalis* in the higher and the *Quercus Ilex* in the lower mountain regions, and of pine, cypress, and maple trees. The best-known Syrian tree, the cedar, is almost entirely eradicated, and even in the Lebanon is only to be found in a small grove in the neighbourhood of the source of the Nahr-el-Kadishah. On the coast and in the districts of the lower-lying areas there are tropical plants, sycamores, date-trees, and sugar-cane.

The principal kinds of grain which are cultivated at the present day, as in olden times, are wheat, barley, millet, sorghum, rye, and maize. The olive-tree, fig-tree, and vine are very extensively grown. A chief source of profit is cattle-breeding, especially of sheep and goats, which do not require much attention, and, together with fowls, provide the only meat-food of the inhabitants. The ox serves rather as a beast of burden. For the same purpose, in the districts bordering on the desert, they keep camels, asses, and mules. Amongst wild animals we find hyenas, jackals, foxes, porcupines, bears, bears (in the Lebanon), and gazelles. The lions, which formerly infested the country, have died out, and there are only a few leopards left.

To the south of the Dead Sea the El Ghor continues and becomes the Wadi el Araba, its level rising gradually above the level of the sea, and finally reaching an altitude of 304 metres on the watershed towards the Bay of Akaba. A valley on the other side of the watershed leads to this bay. The Sinaitic Peninsula, to the west of the Wadi el Araba, is formed by the meeting of the two disruptions of land which created the Red Sea and the Syrian depression.

Only the southern portion of the peninsula is mountainous, its whole area being occupied by the rugged and mighty Sinai range, whose peaks are over 3600 metres high, a granite chain terrible in its desolation.

The northern half of the peninsula consists of the wilderness El Tib, which is traversed by the great caravan route from Egypt over Akaba to Mecca.

East of the Eastern Jordan Land and the Anti-Lebanon the Syrian Desert extends to the Euphrates and, in some places, even beyond it. The soil is sandy, in some parts stony, and bare of every description of animal life. The caravans avoid it, and it has ever been the cause of the failure of northern nations in all their attempts to punish or subdue the Arabian tribes; the Roman armies were obliged to halt at it, whilst the dwellers of the desert had no difficulty in spreading northwards over Mesopotamia. Not until it reaches a line north from Damascus towards Bagdad does it become an important land of passage between the Mediterranean countries and Mesopotamia, the routes through the few but important passes being fully marked out.\*

### 5. ANNA.

Whilst we never meet with archæan and older volcanic rocks in Syria, they are very widespread in Arabia, especially in the entire area between Mecca and Hail. Granite and gneiss appear to form the foundation of the whole peninsula, since we find these rocks occurring at numerous points of the coast in the east and south.

Like the Syrian Desert, Northern Arabia is covered with perfectly horizontal layers of chalk sediments. Tertiary strata are to be found in strong development on the southern coast and at Oman.

The Arabian Peninsula is a high-lying country, and and scantly watered, sloping off in terraces on the west and south towards the torrid coast-lines. The border mountains

rise to a height of 2,000 metres. Chains of hills like walls separate Arabia in the east from the coast-belt, but in the north it slopes down gradually towards the Euphrates. The north and south third is a barren wilderness; the middle third—the Nejd, i.e. the Highlands—is occupied by ranges of mountains and chains of hills enclosing fertile and pleasant valleys. Some parts of the land along the coast of Arabia form a very salutary contrast to the interior dreariness of the country. The region lying to the northwest of the Persian Gulf, called El Hasa, is a low plain which may be considered fertile. In Oman the Jebel Akhdar, the highest Arabian peak, rises to an altitude of 3,018 metres. The southern coast of Arabia begins flat and sandy, and does not rise into more marked relief until we reach the western third, where the hilly country commences, embracing Yemen and Hadramaut, two provinces which, in olden times, were celebrated for their palms, gardens, and plants (*olibanum*-trees, frankincense-pines), and bore the name of Arabia Felix. The dry and hot strip of coast of Tibima, in the province of Asir, commences north of Yemen. From Mecca, the bald mountains immediately approach the coast and rise to a height of 2,800 metres.

#### 6. THE LAND OF THE NILE.

To the west of the Red Sea we enter the territory of the real tableland of the African Desert, in which the Nile has dug its bed. As in Syria and Palestine, we distinguish also here a western area and an eastern area separated by a valley which owes its existence exclusively to the results of erosion and not to disruption of land. The eastern area rises rapidly from the cleft of the valley of the Nile and assumes the character of a barren and desert plateau, extending 200 kilometres to the east, and falling off to the Red Sea in steep declivities. There are several

mountain chains on this plateau running parallel with the river, abutting on the Abyssinian Highlands in the south, and terminating in the Jebel Umm Dukha, 2,150 metres above the level of the sea. Nearly the whole of the eastern area of the Nile consists of crystalline rocks, which are only replaced by sedimentary layers in the north and west.

The western area has a similar desert-like appearance. It forms, in the first instance, valleys with sides 100 to 170 metres high; then it rises to a plateau 400—500 metres in height which stretches about 200 kilometres westwards, and falls down again towards the series of oases running south which begin with the little Oasis of Bahrich (112 metres above sea-level), and continue with the Oases of Karafrah (76 metres), Uachet (58 metres), and Chargeh (68 metres), towards the south.

The Nile, issuing from Lake Victoria, enters the chalk-plain at Khartum, penetrating it, as well as the crystalline rocks which in parts jut out from the east, in a series of cataracts of which the first is at Khartum and the last at Aswan. Altogether there are six cataracts, each consisting of successive rapids and whirlpools, which prove that the Nile has long been busy working its way through. The length of these cataracts varies from ten to sixty kilometres. In this region of incomplete valley-formation it receives two important tributaries from the Abyssinian Highlands, the Blue Nile at Khartum (385 metres), and the Atbara (350 metres) above Port Sudan.

The valley now increases in width towards the north. Between Abu Hamed and Edfu it varies from 500 to 1,000 metres; to the north of Edfu it suddenly broadens to 3,000 metres, and varies again as far as Cairo from four to twenty-eight kilometres. The breadth of the river between Elminch and Cairo also varies from 500 to 2,200 metres. Above Esneh it only averages 200 metres, and even narrows down in some places to 50 or 100 metres.

From Edfu there is already comparatively little water in

the stream, for the reason that a close network of canals or channels, required for the irrigation of the fields in the valley, which mainly lie on the western or Libyan side of the river, withdraws considerable volumes from the Nile.

The cultivated land, in the region from Fanhub to the delta of the Nile, is situated between the river and a canal drawn parallel with the slopes of the Libyan desert-plateau. The northern section of this canal, known as the Bahr Yusuf or Joseph's Canal, is a remnant of Ancient Egyptian construction, and waters Fayum, the rose garden of Egypt, whilst the overflow falls into the Birbet el Kerun. The level of the lake was once ten metres over that of the Mediterranean, and now lies 40-9 metres below it. To the north of Cairo we enter the last section of the course of the Nile, its so-called 'Delta Land.' Below Shubra the stream divides into two important branches, a western and an eastern, which discharge respectively at Rosetta and Damietta. These two arms are connected by a large network of branches, side-arm, and artificial channels, which serve to irrigate the cultivated land of the delta further away to the east and west, the delta itself being moreover enclosed in the north by a number of coast-lakes and lagoons, such as Lake Maryout, Lake Idku, Lake Burus, and Lake Menzaleh. These lakes are the remnants of a former bay of the sea which the Nile has gradually filled up with its deposit, but the height of the delta does not exceed fifteen metres. One arm of the Nile must, in former times, have emptied into the sea at a spot where the Suez Canal is now situated, because the centre of the Isthmus of Suez has a formation of Nile sediments. At the time of the rising of the river, the delta and low levels of the entire valley of the Nile are inundated, but not, as many say, to such an extent as to make the whole country look like a lake. The volume of water is, on the contrary, very evenly distributed by about 14,000 kilometres of canals. The well-known periodical fluctuations in the height of the water of the Nile are to be attributed to the periodical

rains which come down in the Abyssinian Highlands and the tropical countries of the African interior; they cause the river to rise throughout its entire course, beginning in July, and reaching its maximum height in September. At this period the river is from six to seven metres above its lowest level, and it retains this height for two or three weeks. In the second half of October it commences to fall, and continues falling until the second half of May. The sediments left after the inundation fertilise the land to an extraordinary degree, but increase the height of the soil and level the valley.

Whilst the eastern and western areas of the Nile occupy barren deserts almost bare of vegetation, the rich marsh-land of the valley is marvellously fertile.

The principal cereals grown are wheat, rice, maize, and millet of various varieties. Sugar-cane and cotton-plantations are abundant. There are, however, no forests whatever, and this circumstance accounts for the lack of timber for building and fuel purposes. The most important fruit-tree is the date-palm (*Phoenix dactylifera*), which, in many places, forms the staple article of food for the poor inhabitants. It is a remarkable fact that two plants for which Egypt was formerly celebrated, the lotus and papyrus-reed, have almost entirely disappeared, and are only found in the delta here and there. Amongst domestic animals, the sheep, the goat, the hog, and the dog are indigenous to the country, while the ass, the ox, the horse, and the camel (with one hump only) were introduced in the course of time.

The Nile is rich in fish and amphibia creatures. Amongst the latter, the crocodile is now only found in the southern regions. As regards birds, we meet the birds of passage of North European and Central European countries, and the birds of the tropical zone. The larger wild beasts are becoming rarer, and withdraw more and more to the south. We may mention leopards, hyenas, foxes, jackals, wild boar, and scatlopes.

## 7. CLIMATE OF HOMER'S ASIA.

With the exception of Arabia south of the Tropic of Cancer, the territories already described belong to the sub-tropical zone and to that Mediterranean area which embraces Southern Europe and Northern Africa, and is characterised by the predominance of winter rains. These rains occur even in the desert lands in the interior of Persia, Northern Arabia, and Syria, and the scant vegetation which exists is only due to their occurrence. The farther south we go, the more marked is the contrast between the fruitful winter rains and the dry summer. On the coasts and in the north these contrasts are distinctly softened, and a large percentage of the volume of rain falls during the spring and autumn. In general, it decreases in the direction of north to south. On the shores of the Black Sea, it amounts to 130-160 cm., in Beirut it is only 92 cm., and in the desert area it is quite insignificant.

| Locality.  | Lat.<br>itude. | Longi-<br>tude. | Meters<br>above<br>the Sea<br>level. | January | April | July | Octo-<br>ber. | Average<br>for the<br>Year. |
|------------|----------------|-----------------|--------------------------------------|---------|-------|------|---------------|-----------------------------|
| Smyrna     | 37°46'         | 27°10'          | —                                    | 8.3     | 14.6  | 16.7 | 14.7          | 10.9                        |
| Tiberias   | 31°46'         | 39°46'          | 21                                   | 6.3     | 12.2  | 24.3 | 18.5          | 13.5                        |
| Eritrea    | 40°40'         | 46°30'          | 900                                  | 10.9    | 13.6  | 16.7 | 14.7          | 11.9                        |
| Beirut     | 33°54'         | 36°36'          | 34                                   | 12.9    | 18.7  | 27.5 | 14.2          | 16.6                        |
| Jerusalem  | 31°47'         | 35°43'          | 770                                  | 8.5     | 14.6  | 24.5 | 19.8          | 13.3                        |
| Muscat     | 21°33'         | 58°30'          | —                                    | 10.6    | 17.5  | 30.1 | 18.7          | 17.4                        |
| Hippis     | 33°49'         | 46°36'          | —                                    | 9.7     | 13.1  | 26.9 | 14.8          | 13.3                        |
| Misr       | 30°22'         | 40°14'          | —                                    | 7.0     | 13.4  | 26.2 | 17.4          | 12.9                        |
| Alexandria | 31°12'         | 29°54'          | —                                    | 10.9    | 19.2  | 36.6 | 23.9          | 16.8                        |
| Cairo      | 30°59'         | 31°48'          | 29                                   | 10.1    | 11.0  | 29.0 | 22.8          | 15.9                        |

As the foregoing tabular statement shows, the temperature increases in proportion as we go southward, and the extremes of temperature also increase as we leave the western shores and travel towards the interior of the continent, whilst important deviations may be brought about by varying configuration.

Judging by its mean temperature, Southern Egypt belongs to the hottest countries on earth outside the tropics, whilst the delta partakes of the nature of the South European coast climate, owing to the cooling effect of the sea-breezes.

Egypt is frequented as a climatic place of resort by those who suffer from diseases of the lungs, on account of its warm, dry, and chemically pure air.

Southern Arabia has a tropical climate, with scorching heat under a cloudless sky, but remarkably cold nights, owing to the cooling depression of the atmosphere, which frequently converts the dewdrops on the high plains into hoar-frost. During eight months of the year the heat scorches everything, the thermometer often showing over 40° C. in the shade. It is only during the rainy period that the earth is covered with a carpet of green, but even this period of life is neither regular, nor reliable. Even in the more fortunate country of Yemen it frequently fails for several consecutive years.

**§ 5. The Nations of the East.**—The nations of Higher Asia belong to two large groups or families of languages, the separate existence of which can be traced back to the most ancient times. (1) The one is the Sumero-Elamitian, the oldest representatives of which are the Sumerian and the Elamitic, the former being the language of the founders of Babylonian culture. The Sumero-Elamitian is again subdivided in several large branches connected together by distant relationship. These are the Old and New Sumerian, which is preserved in many incantations, psalms of penitence, hymns to the gods, and in numerous inscriptions of the kings, but which, as a spoken language, probably died out very soon; further, the Indo-Germanic languages, of which the Median and Ancient Persian have an interest for students

of Oriental antiquity; and finally the Alarodian, i.e. the pre-Indo-Germanic languages of Asia Minor, Northern Syria, Armenia, and Elam, to which we should add the Hittite, which, up to the present, is known almost wholly from proper names. The modern representative of the Alarodian is the Georgian, which is spoken on the southern slopes of the Caucasus. The Ural-Altaic group of languages, consisting of the Finnish, Hungarian, Turkish, and Mongolian, has left us no records dating from a pre-Christian period.

(2) The other group is that of the Semitic languages, which, however, are quite different alike in construction, form, syntax, and stock of words. They are again subdivided in East Semitic and West Semitic. The former comprises Babylono-Assyrian, from which in already prehistoric times the Egypso-Berber had branched off, and the latter embraces the Canaanitic (Phoenician, Hebrew, Moabitic, and the language of Sam'el), Arabic (especially the language of the pre-Christian Minaean and Sabean inscriptions), and Aramaic, the two last being more closely related to each other.

(3) Although we may assume that originally people and language were identical, nevertheless in the course of thousands of years, in wanderings and by transference and mixture of languages, this condition has suffered many changes.

Pictorial representations, for instance, prove that the Assyrians have remained purer Semites than the Babylonians, who, in point of blood, can only be considered as semi-tised Sumerians; or, in other words, the Semites who subsequently came from the North mixed with the Sumerians, who had been long settled there, and in the course of time actually imposed their language upon them, until the Kassites, an Elamitic tribe, became masters in Babylonia for some time, but again assimilated with the Semites, whose religion and language they assumed. The same was the case with the Ancient Egyptian and the Hamitic-Kushitic languages of North-east

Africa: the former was originally a rather worn-down Semitic-Babylonian dialect of the people, with numerous words taken from the Sumerian, whilst the latter (Beja, Somali, Galla, etc.) probably represent languages compounded from Semitic (perhaps offshoots from Early Egyptian) and Elamitic.

The genealogical table contained in the first Book of Moses, chapter x., does not represent these conditions very clearly, and we should not look to it for a strictly ethnological or linguistic scheme, but rather for a purely geographical enumeration. At the most we might assume that the family-tree included in the family of Ham, the brother of Shem, those Semites who had assimilated, more or less, with non-Semitic nations, as the Egyptians with the Sumerians, the African and Arabic Kedrites with the Elamites, the pre-Hebraic Canaanites with the North Syrian Alarodians. Strange to say, it counts Elam amongst the Semites, which can only be explained by the fact that subsequently the western portion of Elam nearer to Babylon must have become semitised to a considerable degree.

**§ 6. Division of the Year.**—From time immemorial the Babylonians, as well as the Egyptians, were acquainted with a fixed solar year of twelve months of thirty days each. In Babylon a thirteenth month was added after the lapse of a certain number of years, whilst in Egypt five days were added in the course of every year. The Babylonians began their year with the vernal equinox, 22nd March, when day and night were of equal duration; the Egyptians with the summer solstice, on the day when Sirius (Sothis) rose heliacally, i.e. when it emerged from the sun's light and became visible; but as the Egyptian year of 360 + 5 days was six hours too short, they peeped into their service the course of Sirius, which they then used as the correct astronomical year (1461 civil years = 1460 Sothis years, the so-called Sothis Period).

The Babylonian, Assyrian, Egyptian, and Hebrew lists of kings, as well as the astronomically arranged canon of

Ptolemy (from Nabonassar, 747 B.C., to the Ptolemaic Period), and finally a number of important synchronistic data on monuments and in the Bible, all help to fix, almost in its most minute details, the chronology of the first pre-Christian millennium. The second thousand years are not so well determined, especially as to the dates of the period of the Pharaohs, although we have recently secured some sure landmarks to guide us by. In the third millennium, however, we can only calculate the dates of the various Dynasties in an approximate manner, and the phrase 'about the year 2500' may, as a matter of fact, mean anything between 2800 and 2300.

Definite statements like those fixing the reign of King Naram-Sin of Agadî at 3200 years before Nabonassar (about 3760 B.C.), and that of Kudur-zimchundi, the Elamitic king, at 1635 years before Assurbanipal (about 2270 B.C.), exist only in a few solitary cases; but the assumption that the early dawn of Babylono-Egyptian civilisation should be sought in a far earlier period, which we can scarcely express in numbers, is confirmed beyond all manner of doubt by the proofs which we already possess of the Babylonian origin of Egyptian culture. The first Babylonian settlers must have reached the Nile some time, perhaps more than a thousand years, before 4000 B.C. and the beginning of the pre-Semitic, purely Sumerian culture of ancient Babylonia must consequently reach back several thousand years prior to that date.

## CHAPTER I

### Babylonia down to about 1900 B.C.

§ 7. Geography.—As in former ages the Persian Gulf extended farther inland, the two great streams enclosing Ancient Babylonia discharged into the sea separately, at about thirty-one degrees of northern latitude. The oldest, most sacred and, at the same time, most southerly settlement of all is Nan-Ki, or Uredugga (whence the later name Eridu), the home of the most ancient Babylonian dynasty of gods.

Other very old South Babylonian towns are Sirgulla (now called Zerghul), Girsu, Uru-Aziggia, Uruk (Erech, the modern Warka), Ut, and the perhaps later Larsa (the biblical Ellasar). In Central Babylonia the principal towns were Nippur (now Niffer) and Nisir (Yisan or Isin), in North Babylonia Agadi (Akkad) and Sippar, Kish, Kutha, Barisip (Borsippa), and Gish-galla (also called Tintir and Ka-dingirra), the latter Babylon. The last named, however, at that early period was not so important from a political as from a religious point of view, as may be gathered from the various names and their significations: thus Gishgalla signifies a dwelling or a town, and Tintir means "seat of life"; Ka-dingirra, or in Semitic Bab-ili, means "Gate of God."

In the most ancient times we find that the Sumerians were restricted to the south, whilst in the north the Semites had advanced, after having assumed and developed Sumerian culture, especially cuneiform writing.

The countries of importance beyond Babylon about 3000 B.C. were Syria, also called Maru (from Amara, i. and of

the Amorites) Palestine, Elam, and Magan, the last named a part of Arabia (the 'Mawia' mentioned in Arabic inscriptions?) which came into note at a still earlier period, about 3750 B.C.

Nineveh, though not then the capital of the Assyrian Empire, which was not yet in existence, appears to have been known at that time under the name of Ghanna-ki' (place of the goddess Ghanna or Ishtar, as she was afterwards called in Nineveh, for which compare the name *Enoch*, Genesis iv. 17).

**§ 8. Mythology.**—To judge by the names of the gods, the entire Babylonian mythology would appear to be of a purely Sumerian origin, as they all exhibit Sumerian characteristics and features. But we must take into consideration that the Semites, having once assumed the culture and especially the writing of the Sumerians, regarded their language as sacred down to the latest period, and were

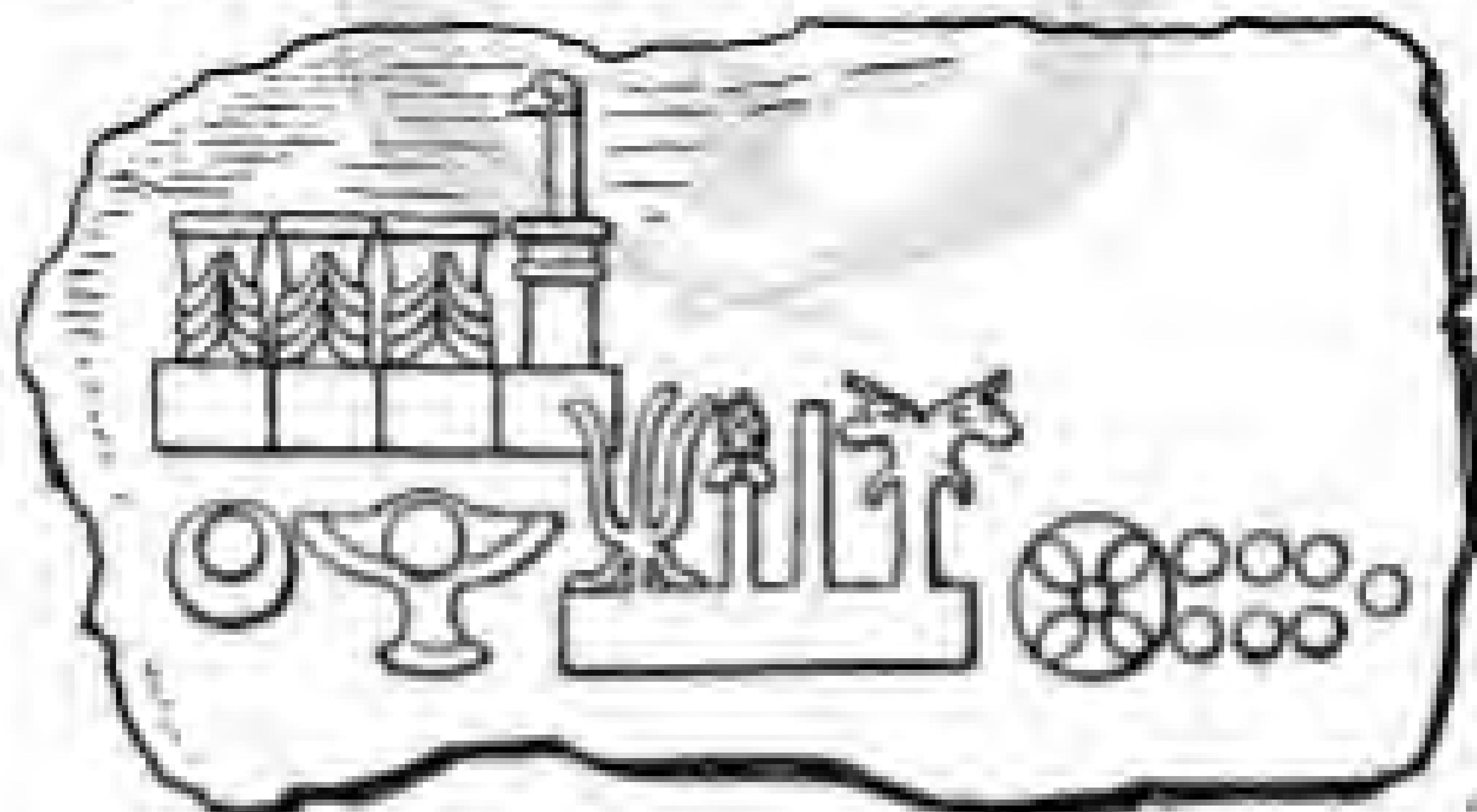


FIG. 4.—RELIEF SCULPTURE FROM THE TEMPLE OF ISHTAR AT NINEVEH,

consequently in the habit of giving Sumerian names to the mythological figures which they had either brought with them or themselves created.

In the most ancient texts we already find the god of Air

between the 'Celestial Ocean' and the god of Earth and its Waters, the three constituting the great trinity of gods, Anu, Bel (Sum. In-lilla), and Ea. The consorts attributed to Bel, the god of Air, and Ea, the god of Earth, were two different female personifications of the Ocean or Expanse of Heaven, Nin-hills (Belit, Ba's), and Dam-gal-Nanna i.e. the Great Consort of Nus, the Celestial Ocean, later also called Damkina, or Dukhe.

The son of Ea is Merodach, the Morning Sun, who was consequently also the grandson of the god of Air, and great-grandson of the Celestial Ocean.

Merodach, however, was also the Spring Sun, and possessed as such a hostile brother Nergal, or the Autumn Sun; the anniversary of the death of the former was held with great lament on the 1st June, and that of the other on the 21st December. Another name attributed to the god of the Spring Sun was Tammuz (Babyl. Duozzi, Faithful Son; Phoen. Adon; Greek, Adonis, Master), to which reference is made in Ezekiel, chap. viii. 4.

These two, Merodach and Nergal, whose Egyptian equivalents are Osiris and Set, each had a consort. The wife of Merodach was Ishtar, who appears amongst the Phoenicians as Aszoret and among the Greeks as Aphrodite (Aphrourt), and the consort of Nergal was Ghanta, also called Gitalla, Gulta, and later Lata, as amongst the Egyptians Osiris was associated with Isis and Set with Nephtahys. Thus a definitely arranged genealogical system of nine divinities was developed, to which was occasionally added Nabu (Nebo), a son of Merodach, whose representative amongst the Egyptians is Horus, the son of Osiris and Isis.

Merodach, Nergal, Ishtar, Nebo, and another god of the Sun, Nundar, originally perhaps different from Nergal, together with the Sun and Moon formed the seven planets standing in their most ancient order, according to their distance from the earth, as follows:—The Moon, Nebo (Mercury), Ishtar (Venus), the Sun, Merodach (Jupiter), Nundar (Mars), Nergal (Saturn).

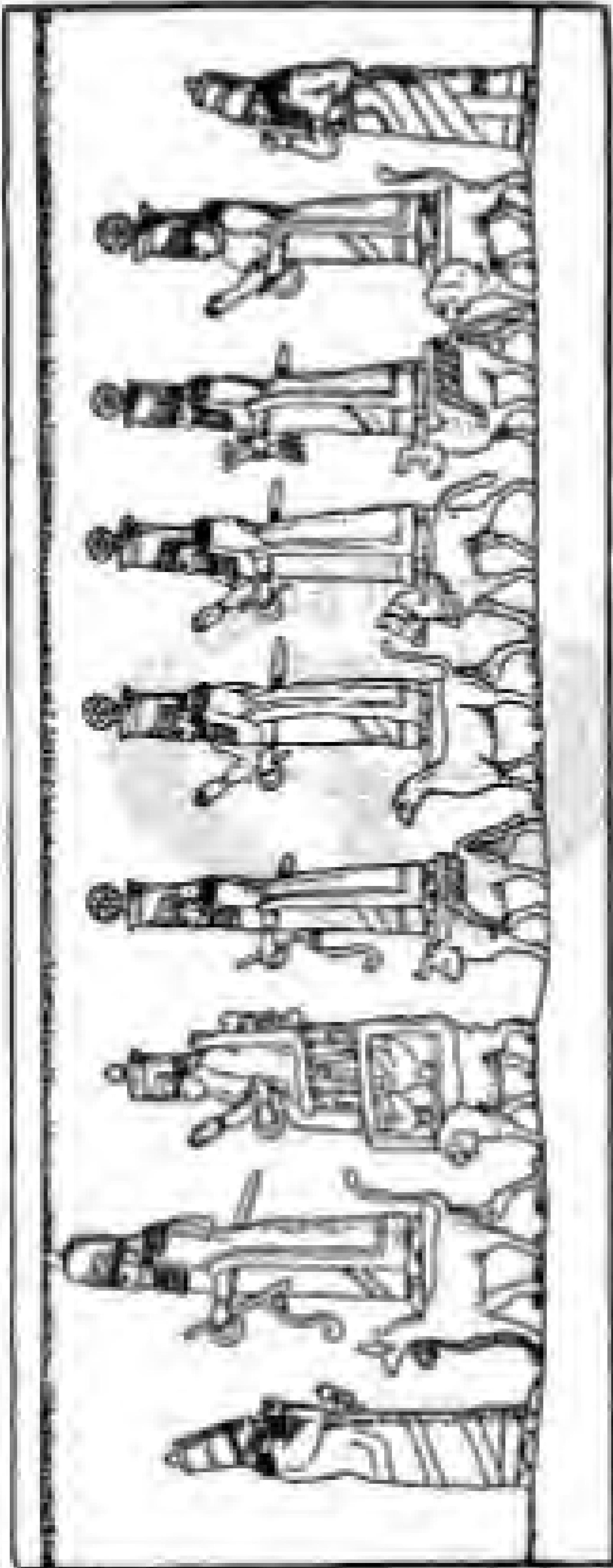


FIG. 1.—THE LOST PLATES OF THE BOOK OF HANNAH.  
SIXTY-EIGHTH PLATE—CONT.  
SIXTY-NINTH PLATE—CONT.

Our own days of the week also point to an arrangement of the planets, the Sun, the Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus and Saturn, in an order which can be proved to have existed in ancient times: Sunday, Monday (Moon-day, Tuesday (Mardi, day of Mars; German, Dienstag); Wednesday (day of Woden; German, Mittwoch; French, Mercredi; Italian, Mercoledi; day of Mercury); Thursday (Donnerstag, Jove-di, Jev-di, day of Jupiter); Friday (Vener-di, Vendredi, day of Venus); Saturday, day of Saturn (Samstag).

The origin of the calendar, astronomy, and weights and measures can all be traced back to Babylonia. The signs of the zodiac are to be found in pictorial representations about 1200 B.C., but date back even further to about 3000 B.C., as is proved by the placing of the Pleiades before Aries. The Bull, the Twins, the Lion, the Virgin (the goddess Istar), the Scorpion, the Eagle, and other names of stars are to be traced to ancient Babylonian ideas. The entire system of measures is based upon a division in sixties, which is also of astronomical origin. The 'Mina,' a measure of weight, had sixty pounds; the double-hour, sixty minutes; the double-el, sixty finger-widths; the circle,  $6 \times 60$  degrees. The standard expression 'Sessos' for sixty (which perhaps explains the German word 'Schock') originally only meant a sixth (*sodis, sossu*) of the great astronomical number 360.

The oldest and most important legends of the gods are contained in the two great ancient Babylonian epics, the *Epos of the Creation* and the twelve songs of the great national hero Gishlishir or Gilgames (Gilgames), whose Semitic name is Namrumit or Naredu (from Namru, i.e. the Biblical Nimrod). Mardach (Marduk, Marduk), the Spring Sun, regarded as the creator of the world, contends with Tiamat, the great sea-serpent, also called Aboba ('diluge'), vanquishes it, and forms heaven and earth out of its two halves. Its counterfeit is transferred to the sky in the form of the Milky Way, and

its eleven associates as the signs of the zodiac, preceded by Merodach, the conquering hero, as twelfth, his symbol being a bull. A similar combat takes place between Merodach as Spring Sun and his hostile brother Nergal, the Autumn Sun. After vanquishing Tilmat, Merodach creates, in addition to the stars, the plants, animal world and human beings. We meet with similar ideas, only in a purer form, amongst the Hebrews (*Genesis*, chap. i.), who, according to their own traditions, came from Ur in Chaldea.

The Nimrod Epos describes the various combats and adventures of Gishdubar, in whom the old god of Fire, Gibil (Nebo or Nasca, as a planet-god), and a legendary king of Erech seem to form one and the same personage. He contends first of all with the son of the field-demon Ea-bani, then with Chumba-hak, king of the Elamites, and he finally vanquishes—in conjunction with Ea-bani—the Heavenly Bull which Ishtar, the goddess of Love, who had been neglected by Gishdubar, thirsting for vengeance, sends to Erech.

In order to punish the hero, the goddess makes his friend Ea-bani die of the sting of a scorpion, and strikes him with leprosy. Hereupon Gishdubar sets out for Arabia to search for the Waters of Death and the Isle of the Blissful (Socotra in the Indian Ocean), in order to find his ancestor Noah (Babyl. *Nuchnapišti*, 'Rest of the Soul'), and effect a cure of his malady. The latter narrates to him the history of his miraculous deliverance from the great flood (the Deluge), which exhibits such conspicuous similarity with the biblical account of the Deluge. Finally, Gishdubar is purified in the Spring of Life, and is cured of his leprosy.

A description of the hero's return home and of the function in memory of Ea-bani, who has meanwhile been received into the Babylonian Valhalla, concludes the Epos, which also forms the basis of the Greek legends and myths of Heracles, Melicertes (Melkart of the Phoenicians), and

Glaucus, and clearly shows how such material has wandered from Babylonia through Phenicia to Greece.

**X. 9. The most ancient Rulers in South and North Babylonia.**—In the earliest ages of which we possess any inscriptions we find that Semitic town-kings ruled in Northern Babylonia, for instance in Akkad (Aq-dî) (Genesis, chap. x. 10), whilst in various South Babylonian places such as Sîgulla, Ur, Nînê, and Larsa we meet with Sumerian princes, who for a time succeeded in obtaining dominion over the North and called themselves kings of Ki-Ingi (*Ingi*, i.e. 'Land of the Sacred Tongue,' originally *Ki Imi-Ku*) and Durra, i.e. Sennir and Akkad.

The most celebrated of the North Babylonian kings are Sargon and his son Naram-Sin, whom later Babylonian traditions place about 3750 B.C. In the south, the kings and priest-princes (*Patesi*) of Sîgulla, of whom Gudea has left us the largest number of inscriptions, were followed by the purely Sumerian kings of Ur, Ur-Bâ's, whose name is also read Ur-Garra, and his son Dongi, then by Semitic kings of Nînê, kings of Ur again, and finally by kings of Larsa (Bibl. Ellmar).

Contemporaneously with the last named, about 2100 B.C., we meet with a dynasty in Northern Babylonia which was the first to select the city of Babylon as a political centre. Its most important representative was Chammu-rapâtu. Babylon now assumed the capital, and we consequently possess fairly complete Babylonian lists of kings, which enable us to fix some chronological order which is approximately reliable. Here however at once rises the difficult question whether the first two dynasties were contemporaneous or consecutive. As the assumption is in favour of the former, we may fix the reign of Chammu-rapâtu at about 1900 B.C., or about 350 years later than if we assume a consecutive order.



FIG. 4.—Photograph of James Hartshorn, taken at Harvard University, 1907. He was 40 years old at the time of the photograph. He is a member of the Harvard class of 1897.

## CHAPTER II.

### *Egypt down to the Beginning of the Domination of the Myknoes (about 1900 B.C.).*

§ 10. **Its Geography.**—The comparatively narrow and long tract of territory on both banks of the Nile, from about the 24th to the 31st degree of northern latitude, was inhabited in the most ancient times by people from the north whose intellectual leaders spoke a Semitic tongue strongly mixed with Sumerian words. This became the dominant language; and even in the beginning of the so-called 'time of the Pyramids,' which constitutes the earliest Egyptian historical epoch of which we possess records in the form of monuments (about 3500 B.C.), it appears as a literary language which had long since fallen into a condition of petrification. As Egyptologists have long since agreed that this language is derived from Asia, then we may venture to affirm that Northern Babylonia, possibly also Mesopotamia, its northern neighbour, was the region whence a band of enterprising colonists marched out to carry the primitive forms of culture and civilization to the banks of the Nile.

Already at this early period the country was divided politically into Upper and Lower Egypt. The older Pharaohs, at least, bear both titles, that of King of Upper Egypt (*asutani*), and that of King of Lower Egypt (*ilanti*), separately, which points to a union of both in their own person. The country was also divided in districts. The oldest capital of the South or Upper Egypt appears to have been Nechebt, now called El-Kab, where they worshipped the vulture, the sacred bird of the south. The chief town of

Lower Egypt was Buto, in Egyptian Pe and De-Pe, a double town. Amongst other ancient towns of Upper Egypt we may note Thinis, whence came the first legendary Pharaoh, Menes, and not far from it the sacred Abydos (Abdu), while Thebes with its Hundred Gates, referred to by Homer, only becomes prominent at a later date as the capital of the so-called 'Intermediate' Kingdom. In the delta of the Nile, or Lower Egypt, Memphis or Men-nefer, i.e. 'Good Spot,' plays an important part in the earliest ages. According to tradition, Menes is said to have selected it as his residential city. The most sacred spot, however, was the old 'Town of the Sun,' On or Heliopolis, the home of the great Sun-god of the Nine Gods. Even in the time of the Pyramids, the Nubians, who were mostly negroes, were employed as mercenary troops. The equivalent of Nubia is Kenebt (compare the modern Kenosso), and the term is to be found in the most ancient texts. During the same period we also meet with the Libyans, who lived to the west of Egypt, under the name of Dzeches or Teches, which signifies the 'glistening' or 'shining' ones. The whole of the extensive area in the west was called by the Egyptians the Land of Dzembch. The other neighbouring nations mentioned are the 'Cave-dwellers of the Front Land,' or the Troglodytes inhabiting the east of Nubia; then the Menti (subsequently confused with the Mendzu of the Sinaitic Peninsula), dwelling near the first cataracts of the Nile; the Ha'n-Nebu, or the primitive inhabitants of the northern delta (afterwards transferred to the people of the Greek Islands and to the inhabitants of Asia Minor); and finally the Pidi-Shu (Pidi-Shu), or the nomadic tribes of the Sinaitic Peninsula, early conquered by the Egyptians, also called Mendzu. On the other hand, the Nubian Kashi, or later Kush, who probably migrated from Elam through Arabia to North Africa, did not enter the Egyptians' purview until the establishment of the Intermediate Kingdom about the year 2000 B.C.

**§ II. Religion and Culture of the Ancient Egyptians.**—Originally every Egyptian town of any importance had, it appears, only its own local divinity. Memphis had Ptah, Heliopolis possessed Iunu or Tum, Abydos worshipped Osiris, Thebes served Amon, Bubastis paid adoration to the goddess Bast, Sais had Neit, and so others. The more a town grew in repute the more known became the worship of its local deity. In the course of time some of the gods, though bearing a different name, were either identified or brought into relationship with each other.

The rise of a city like Thebes secured to its local god a power which dominated all the other gods and eventually developed into a sort of Monotheism. Amon-Ré', i.e. Amon the Sun-god, was regarded not only as the highest, but on occasions also as the only god. But an impartial consideration of the Egyptian and the Babylonian doctrine of religious faith teaches us that the ancestors of the former were in possession of a fairly developed belief in polytheistic deities at the time when they set foot on the soil of their new home, since the most important figures of Egyptian mythology, more especially the great gods of the Sun and the Heavens, Osiris, Horus, and Nut, form the earliest stock of the Egyptian religion.

As was the case amongst the Babylonians, so we find amongst the Egyptians that Nu, the 'Expansive of the Heavens,' stands at the head of the entire system of deities, and that his son, in Egyptian Shu, was the god of Air, and the son of the latter was Keb or Seb, the god of Earth, both of whom, Shu and Seb, had female consorts personifying the Expansive of the Heavens, Tef-Nut and Nut (feminine of Nu). Again, as amongst the Babylonians, it was the case in Egypt that the god of Earth and his consort Nut, the goddess of Heaven, had four children, the two pairs Osiris-Iulis and Set-Neb-ha'at (Grecised as Nephthys). As Merodach and Nergal in Babylonia, so were Osiris and Set in Egypt hostile brothers, namely, the Summer Sun-

and the Winter Sun; and as Merodach in Babylonia is expressed in writing by the signs for dwelling and eye (the latter as the hieroglyph for the ram, the symbolic animal of the father of Merodach, i.e. of Ea, the god of Earth), so is Osiris, in Egyptian writing, expressed by 'Un' (dwelling) and 'ir' (eye), only the Egyptians had lost the knowledge of the original meaning of this group of signs.

Already in the texts of the Pyramids these nine deities formed the great System of the Nine Gods, an important part being also played by Hor or Horus, another Sun-god, the son of Osiris, just as happened in Babylonia with Nabo or Nebo, the son of Merodach. The well-known legends which have come down to us through Plutarch, long before hieroglyphics were re-deciphered, concerning the victory of the evil god Set over his brother Osiris, the touching lament of Isis over her husband Osiris, and the vengeance taken by the young son Horus for the murder of his father, are all closely connected with this genealogy, and constitute the poetical representation of one of Nature's phenomena, exactly like the widespread legend of the god Tammuz which came to Higher Asia from Babylonia. Another legend, derived from Babylonian times, and one which we meet with very frequently in Egyptian literature, especially in the so-called 'Book of the Dead,' is the combat of Ré<sup>1</sup>, the Sun-god, with the Dragon 'Apep, or the Demon of the Clouds, who is the cause of the deluge (Babyl. Abibu), an idea which was not quite unknown to the prophets of the Old Testament. (Compare Isaiah, chap. l. § 1 sq., 'Art Thou not it, oh Yahwe,<sup>2</sup> that cut Rahab — sea-monster—in pieces, that pierced the dragon?') Again, as among the Babylonians, so in Egypt, this victory

<sup>1</sup> The present invariably wrong spelling of the word Jehovah is to be attributed to a misunderstanding on the part of certain European scholars of the sixteenth century of the Old Testament name of the Deity Yahweh, Yahweh, or Greek: Iah. The oldest form of the word is probably Yahu, which gave rise to the abbreviation of Yah or Yo, frequently met with in proper names.

## EGYPT TO BEGINNING OF THE HYKSOS 41

of the Sun-god over the powers of darkness was assigned to the morning of the New Year's Day, the morning of the Creation.

The Babylonian idea of a great deluge which was brought about by the Sun-god Bel-Merodach for the purpose of destroying sinful mankind is also clearly echoed in the mythology of the Ancient Egyptians. Mankind conspires against the Sun-god Rē, who has grown old, upon which Hat-Hor, the mother of Horus, causes such a slaughter amongst them, that everything swims in blood. In order to save those who had not sinned from the anger of the goddess, who is no longer to be appeased, Rē<sup>1</sup> has seven thousand pitchers of beer brewed of barley and human blood, with which he irrigates the fields and intoxicates the goddess, who now ceases her slaughter. Similarly in the Babylonian legend of the deluge the gods become drunk on the seven times seven libations which are poured out on the occasion of the cessation of the flood.

Another conception which is common to both Babylonians and Egyptians is that of the tree of life and a place of rest or island for the repose of the Blissful, the 'fields of Yalu' of the Egyptian texts. Here the Egyptians have even retained the Babylonian name, for Yalu is merely a softer pronunciation of the Babylonian Arallu; and Kamis, i.e. the conqueror, the Semitic-Babylonian synonym of Arallu, is discovered in the old Egyptian designation of the region of the Dead, Kauas, otherwise the name for Nubia. Whether the Greek term *Elysium* is derived from the same origin is a question which, for the present, must remain in abeyance, although the same conception certainly underlies it. Moreover, the Egyptians imagined that this paradise could only be reached after a preceding judgment of the Dead, which is also reproduced in Babylonian mythology. Sheol signifies 'place of decision'; the Demon of Fire, Nabo-Nusku-Gishushar, is the judge of the Lower World, etc.

What in the Egyptian religion appeared most strange is

the eyes of the Greeks was their manner of representing divinities by symbols of animals, some of which can be referred to the primitive worship of animals in Africa, although the most important signs are derived from ancient Babylon.

The bull representing both Merodach and Rē'-Osiris, the ram as an emblem of the god Ea as well as of Chnum, the eagle or sparrow-hawk used for Nindar and the young Sun-god Hor, the cow representing Istar and Isis, the jackal Mergal and various gods related to Set, are all figures of animals which are common to both religions.

Besides these, the Egyptians originally had a number of purely local deities, like Amon of Thebes, Neit of Sais, some of whom may have been of African origin. Later on, it was Amon himself who, from the Intermediate Kingdom downwards, was fused with the Sun-god Rē'a as Amon-Rē'a and became one of the chief gods, indeed the principal god, of the Egyptian Pantheon. In later times, after Alexander, Serapis, a new God, was created and often quoted in Roman classics, the name being composed of Osiris and Apis (the sacred bull of the sun).

The earliest domestic arrangements in the life of a people always stand in the most intimate relation with its religious belief. Consequently, if the foundations of the Egyptian belief in gods can be traced back to Babylon, it may be inferred that the same is the case with writing, astronomy, metrology, and architecture. This indeed may be actually demonstrated for all the most important points, and it should be specially remarked that the Babylonian temple with its seven steps furnished the architectural prototype for the oldest Pyramids, which also had seven stages, whilst the Babylonian temple also served the purposes of sepulchral monuments; that the Egyptian pound was derived from the Babylonian silver 'Mina,' and the Egyptian ell from the Babylonian ell, which was based upon the length of the second-persiculum (see the convincing proofs of C. F. Lé-

man of Berlin); that the elements of Egyptian astronomy point to Babylon; and finally that numerous Egyptian signs, such as the hieroglyphs for life, brother, slave, left side, heaven's boat, to do, night, meadow, and Celestial Ocean, all agree in point of shape with their Babylonian equivalents.

§ 12. *The Age of the Pyramids, or the 'Old Kingdom.'*—The division of Ancient Egyptian History into an Old, an Intermediate, and a New Kingdom originates with the Egyptologists, who again divide these three great epochs in single dynasties, which are borrowed from Manetho, an Egyptian priest who wrote in Greek (about 290 B.C.<sup>1</sup>), he himself having drawn his information from ancient Egyptian sources.

Had his *Memorabiliæ* been preserved to us complete and unscathed instead of in scanty extracts, we should have been able to establish a far more accurate framework of Egyptian chronology than that which we now possess. The preservation of the Kings' Papyrus at Turin, which enumerates the Egyptian kings according to dynasties and the duration of their rule down to the Twentieth Dynasty, might possibly have consoled us for the loss of the complete Manetho, had it not been in such a dismasted condition. But thanks to the dry Egyptian climate the large majority of monuments, from the oldest Pyramids to the buildings of the Ptolemies, have been wonderfully preserved.

Nowhere has an epoch of culture of a former age had such a brilliant resurrection in our own times as here on the banks of the Nile, where a settled state of political affairs and the deep interest of the Egyptian Government have not only facilitated the most careful preservation of the surface

<sup>1</sup> The First to the Tenth Dynasties reigns in the time of the Old Kingdom, the Eleventh to the Seventeenth, but principally the Twelfth, in the Intermediate Kingdom, the Eighteenth to the Twentieth in the New Kingdom, and they were followed by the various Foreign Dynasties or Mercenaries, forming the Twenty-second to the Twenty-fifth, by the Twenty-sixth Dynasty in the time of the Restoration, and by the Twenty-seventh to the Thirty-first in the time of the Persians.

monuments, but have also led to a series of systematic excavations. Nevertheless, this remarkable civilization, the development of which we can follow for 3500, perhaps for 4000 years before the Christian Era down into the time of the Roman emperors, would have made a peculiar impression upon us—if a sort of African China—were it not bound by so many connecting links to the history of Higher Asia, indeed even to that of Europe.

Passing in silence over the rather mythical first king Menes and Pharaoh Zoser, who belonged to the Third Dynasty, and to whom the construction of the pyramid in stages at Sakkara and of the Great Sphinx at Gizeh is attributed, we find that the zenith of the Old Kingdom was reached under the first kings of the Fourth Dynasty, viz. Snofru, about 3000 B.C., who conquered the Beduins of the Sinaitic Peninsula, and worked copper and malachite mines there, and under whom Egyptian culture attained a high degree of perfection, which in the plastic and many other arts it scarcely ever excelled, and the celebrated builders of Pyramids, Cheops, Chephren, and Mykerinos of Herodotus). In the Fifth Dynasty we meet with the Egyptians further down south, penetrating as far as the Sudan and Pa'ant, the land of frankincense. It is this period and that of the Sixth Dynasty (Pepi, Mer-en-Rê) from which date the extensive religious texts, the so-called Pyramid texts, which have afforded us such important information respecting the oldest form of the Egyptian language and religion. Under Pepi an expedition was undertaken to the south of Palestine, perhaps the first war-like expedition of the kind against Asia.

The monuments teach us nothing concerning the age in which Manetho places the Seventh to the Tenth Dynasties. Probably political troubles, revolutions, or, according to a later papyrus-roll, incursions by hostile Amu, i.e. Asiatics or Semites, must have taken place to disturb the state of the country.

§ 13. The Intermediate Kingdom, especially the

**Twelfth Dynasty.**—As to the Eleventh Dynasty we again have texts to inform us, from which we are able to gather that about this period political life centred in the south. Thebes, not Memphis, is now the capital, and the Theban god Amon now presides over the Egyptian Pantheon. Under the last king of the Eleventh Dynasty, Sench-ka-ré, another expedition was made against Pa'unt or Chabani, as it is called in old Egyptian (the Somali coast and the opposite region of South Arabia), in order to secure for the Egyptian Government the advantages of the trade in frankincense which had long been carried on with Pa'unt.

Egypt flourished and enjoyed the highest degree of prosperity in the time of the Twelfth Dynasty, about 2000 B.C. Amen-em-ha'at I. conquered Nubia, where we now meet the new race of the Kothites or Kushites, who probably came from Elam through Arabia; User-tesen III. received an embassy—splendidly depicted in colours in an Egyptian mausoleum—from an Arabian-Canaanite prince named Duse' (Abi-yathu'a); his son, Amen-em-ha'at II., is said to have constructed the Lake of Moeris, mentioned by Herodotus, as immense reservoir in Fayum, to the west of the lower Nile-valley, and to have built the celebrated Labyrinth, planned in the form of a temple with countless chambers and passages.

The literature of Egypt also flourished in the time of the Intermediate Kingdom. The most ancient papyrus-rolls date from this period, which the Egyptians themselves regarded as the Classic Epoch. In it originated, for instance, the story of the Island of Spirits and its serpent-king, the well-known history of the sojourn of Senusre in the south of Palestine and in Edom, and finally, amongst religious texts, the Theban version of the so-called 'Book of the Dead,' the nucleus of which probably dates back to a still earlier period.

Although amongst their works of architecture we no longer find any edifices which can compare with the Pyramids of the Old Kingdom, and in sculpture we easily

recognise the later scum, yet such huge monuments as the rock-graves of Beni Hassan and Bershe give ample proof of their high capacity. These were, for the most part, constructed by the district chiefs, whose power—as opposed to that of the Government—had been steadily on the increase ever since the Sixth Dynasty.



## CHAPTER III

### *The Great Revolution at the Beginning of the Second Pre-Christian Millennium, and the Earliest Stages of the History of the Hebrews.*

§ 14. **Babylonia under Chammu-rapaltu and his Successors.**—The sixth king of the above-mentioned Dynasty of the first town-kings of Babylon is the renowned king Chammu-rapaltu, commonly read Chammu-rabi or Chammuraga, who has left us a number of inscriptions which from the places where they were found prove that he ruled over many towns in North and South Babylonia. Numerous contracts of purchase and sale dating from his time, as well as from the reigns of his five successors, attest the flourishing condition of trade and industry, and enable us to cast a glance at the state of the law and the private life of the people in those days.

It was Chammu-rapaltu who overthrew the last king of Larsa, and thus for the first time permanently joined North and South Babylonia; ever after, Babylon remained the capital of the entire land. Long canals and large temples throughout the country show the energy he displayed during his benevolent reign, which, according to the list, lasted fifty-five years. During a considerable portion of this period he was, it is true, a vassal of the Elamites, whose power was still great in Babylonia, until he succeeded in subduing Iri-Aku, king of Larsa.

Samsu-iluna, the son of Chammu-rapaltu, like all the other kings of this Dynasty, bears a Canaanitic name, a

circumstance which can only be explained by supposing that his father, in vanquishing Iri-Aku, not only secured Southern Babylonia, but also the sovereignty over the Land of Martu, as the Babylonians called Palestinian Syria ever since the time of Gudea.

The son of Samsu-iluna was Abi-shu'a, another distinctly Canaanitic-Minian name, and his son was Ammi-saduna, who in an inscription styles himself 'King of Babylon, King of the World (Kish), King of Sumir and Akkad, King of the vast territory of Martu.'

If the greater Babylonian list of kings is right in its assumption that the first two Nord-Babylonian Dynasties were not contemporaneous, then Hammurabi could not have reigned about 1900 B.C., but fell 368 years earlier, and consequently Abraham must also be put back almost four centuries. Certainty on this point can only be obtained by the aid of further new inscriptions. All circumstances, however, speak in favour of the concurrent existence of the first two Dynasties, especially the smaller list with the striking heading (unintelligible, if we assume consecutive Dynasties) at the beginning of the second or Ur-ka Dynasty, 'But these are, etc.' Biblical tradition also places Abraham about the year 1900, and thus confirms the correctness of our assumption.

**§ 15. The Rule of the Hykes Kings in Egypt.**—The time which elapsed between the end of the Twelfth and the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty (from about 1900 B.C. to about 1600 B.C.) constitutes one of the most obscure periods of Egyptian history. All we know for certain is that immediately preceding the Eighteenth Dynasty the so-called Hykes or Shepherd-kings of Oriental origin ruled over Lower Egypt, whilst probably in Upper Egypt several native Dynasties occupied the throne in more inglorious lives. We have already referred to the strange sphinxes and statues of kings, some of which probably belonged to these kings, whilst others they usurped by subsequently adding their own names to the inscriptions, for instance, the statue with the

name of Apopi. When we consider that, according to biblical tradition (*Genesis xiv.*), the united Elamitic-Babylonian armies penetrated as far as the Elamitic Gulf of El Fur'in and Kadesch-Barnea, it is very probable that the movements which theretofore happened on the Sinaitic Peninsula and in Southern Palestine were intimately connected in the relation of cause to effect with the descent of the Hyksos. It is a matter of fact that wherever we have a number of monuments, i.e. in the beginning of the New Kingdom (about 1600 B.C. and afterwards), we also meet with the horse and war-chariot and a great many words of Semitic and specifically Canaanitic extraction in Egypt, which leads us to infer that a strong Canaanitic influence must have made itself felt in the preceding centuries.

According to Manetho, the name of the first Hyksos-king was Salatis, which is Canaanitic for something like 'Wielder of power,' similar to the term applied to Joseph, who in the same period was made Viceroy of Egypt (*Genesis*, chap. xlii-6; Hebr. 'Ha-shallit'). Another was Apopi; a third, whose statue was found in Bubastis, was Chian. The last named is perhaps perpetuated by Arabic tradition as Rayyan, as they may have heard and pronounced the aspirate which represents a guttural *r* (gh) as a lingual *r* (produced by the tip of the tongue); for this is said to have been the name of the Pharaoh, a descendant of the Arabian-Canaanitic Amalekites, who liberated and distinguished Joseph of old.

Finally, a certain Nebti, whose name is also given to one of the eras, lived 400 years before Rameses II., about 1700 B.C., with which the 430 years' sojourn of the Children of Israel in Egypt is perhaps rightly connected. The capital of the Hyksos was in Hac'art (Hassar, Avaris), to the east of Tanis, near the boundary, probably also in Tanis or Zizim, which had sprung up during the Intermediate Kingdom and was destined to play a prominent part in the Nineteenth Dynasty, especially at the seat of government of Rameses II. That the Hyksos-kings also assumed Egyptian

culture may be perceived from the few monuments which have been preserved from their age.

§ 16. Abram (Abraham) the Hebrew.—We have already mentioned that the last king of Larsa, Iri-Aku or Iri-Sin or Rim-Sin, was overthrown by Hammurapis of Babylon and deprived of his kingdom. But we gather from his original inscriptions which have been preserved to us that he was previously a very powerful ruler who added the Central Babylonian towns of Nisir (Nisus) and Erek to his territory, the former, indeed, during the time that Sin-Muballit, the father of Hammurapis, ruled North Babylon as a vassal of Iri-Aku. His father, Kudur Mabug, with whom he undertook most of his expeditions, was in a position to call himself actually in an inscription 'Father of Maru,' i.e. supreme Ruler-lord of Syria and Palestine. He came of an Elamitic, not Babylonian tribe, and for this reason he occasionally exchanged the Babylonian term of the deity 'Sin' in his name for the corresponding Elamitic 'Aku.' Iri-Sin is 'Servant of the Moon-god'; Iri-Aku has the same meaning.

This Iri-Aku is associated in a peculiar manner with the first beginnings of the history of the Hebrews. From the Old Testament we know that this history began when Abram,<sup>1</sup> a chief of a Hebrew tribe, went out from the ancient city of 'Ur in Chaldea'—sacred to the Moon—and from Harran in Mesopotamia, between which two towns the pasture-fields of his nomadic subjects were probably situated, in order to go to Canaan. Now we know from a very ancient source (*Genesis*, chap. xiv.) that an Elamitic king, Kudur-Lagamar—in the Bible, Chedor-laomer—together with his vassals, Amraphel of Ellasar, i.e. this very Iri-Aku of Larsa, Amraphel<sup>2</sup> of Shinar, i.e.

<sup>1</sup> Abram is a possibly Canaanitic name met with in a Babylonian deed of purchase of the time of Apil-Sin, i.e. two or three generations before Hammurapis, in the form of Abiram, as the father of a witness who is simply called 'He of Maru.'

<sup>2</sup> Amraphel is the popular pronunciation of Hammurapis.

Babylonia, and Tidal of Goi, in the north-east of Babylonia, made an expedition against the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah on the Dead Sea, who, after a period of subjection lasting over fourteen years, had at last rebelled. These kings gained the decisive battle which took place in the valley of Siddim, but on returning to Babylonia, intoxicated by victory and unprepared for an attack, they were caught by Abram during the night at Damascus, and despoiled of their rich booty.

On this occasion mention is made (*Genesis*, chap. xiv. 18) of a king, Melchi-Zedek, who was High-priest of Salem, i.e. of what subsequently became Jero-Salem. Bearing in mind that Jerusalem is mentioned as Ura-Salim in cuneiform only a few centuries later, about 1430 B.C., as well as a Priest-king, Abdi-ibni, there is no ground for finding the above statements at all remarkable. Thus the birth of the Hebrew nation falls together with the important political activity of the nineteenth pre-Christian century.

The culture of the Babylonians, as well as that of the Egyptians, an offshoot of the former from the earliest ages, had reached and passed their zenith of prosperity; thousands of years lay behind each of them. For the further development of Babylonian history, the rule of Hammurabi signified the final victory of the Semitic over the Sumerian element of Southern Babylonia, which was on the point of dying out. Similarly, the time of the Hyksos meant for Egypt (which from the first was only half-Semitic and by blood perhaps not Semitic at all) a deeply rooted admixture of the Semitic element and Semitic views which we shall find continued in the New Kingdom. Finally there sprung up two new offshoots of Babylonia, one in the north-east of Babylonia and one in the far-distant Southern Arabia, and probably at about the same time.

These were young Assyria, which later arose to such political power, and whose first Priest-princes or Patesi we meet with about 1800 B.C., and the realm of Southern

Arabis, the first traces of which only became noticeable several centuries later, and which also was touched by Babylonian culture.

We thus see how everything now leads to a slow, and sometimes interrupted, but certain victory of Semitism in Higher Asia, which was to remain almost the sole bearer of civilisation for the next thousand years.

Although the Hebrews only made their appearance in history at this juncture, and even then only to disappear again for several centuries, nevertheless little Palestine, which was to become their home, had, by its unique geographical situation between two large centres of culture, for the last thousand years already been affected by the most varied influences of Babylonia and Egypt.

Its Canaanitic population, closely related with the Hebrews by language and blood, showed already the same mixture of permanent and nomadic elements as in the beginning of the history of the Hebrews. The Beduins who belonged to them were by no means an uncivilised primitive people, as many modern scholars assert. The Hebrews were still shortly before the time of David.

How, indeed, was it possible that a country which had been under Babylonian suzerainty for centuries, and for hundreds of years under the dominion of Egypt—during the time of the New Kingdom (Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties)—should not be at all affected by Babylonian and Egyptian culture? And that even the nomadic elements in the Semitic tribes dwelling between Babylonia and Egypt were not an exception, is already proved by the descriptions of them occasionally given by the Egyptians in word and picture.

A clear proof of the correctness of this assumption is furnished by the invention, about the year 2000, of the West Semitic Alphabet, commonly called the Phoenician, which Phoenician colonists handed down to the Greeks towards the end of the second Millennium, so that it became the mother of all our occidental alphabets. By the middle of the second Millennium it had already branched out into

two classes derived from one source, the Canaanitic-Phoenician and the South Arabian Macro-Sabean Alphabets. The opinion that it is derived from the Egyptian alphabetical signs which were in use together with the ideograms and syllabograms may be immediately disproved by the phonetic system underlying it.

Like many other things, it can be traced back to Babylonian prototypes, and is an invention of Canaanitic-Arabic Bedeins who at that time, as they did subsequently in Christian ages in the Sinaitic Peninsula and in the Hauran, were impelled to scratch their names on walls of rocks and earthenware pottery, or to brand them on their canals and flocks. In a similar manner, these nomads took the names of the most important constellations which were best calculated to serve practical chronological purposes from Babylonian Astronomy, which already in the third millennium before the Christian Era stood in the zenith of its glory.

## CHAPTER IV

### *The Period of Egyptian Conquests in Hither Asia from the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Dynasty.*

§ 17. The Beginning of the Rule of the Kassites in Babylonia.—The Dynasty to which the renowned Hammurapis belonged was probably immediately succeeded by a number of Kassite (Elamitic) kings, who reigned during a period of more than five centuries, and most of whom bore names exhibiting their foreign origin. Certainly they soon adapted themselves to the Babylonians in customs, language, and religion ; but that the Babylonians always regarded this rule as one of foreign oppression, and suffered accordingly, is proved by the conscious reaction towards Semitism at the end of this long period, which, by the way, was not without its glories for Babylonia.

A certain Gaudi, or in Elamitic Gaddish, or Gandish, begins the list of kings at this period at about 1700 B.C., at a time when the Hykes still ruled in Egypt. We do not hear much of Babylonia until we reach the renowned Aga, the seventh of these kings, or Aga-kak-rimi, as he is also called to distinguish him from a predecessor. This Aga, son of Ur-Zigerash, i.e. 'Servant of the Heavenly Deity,' styles himself in his great inscription, a later copy of which has been preserved, 'King of the Kassites and Akkadians, King of the vast Land of Babel, who subdued numerous nations on the Ashurnak territory, King of Padan and Aman, King of the Land of Gutî (the seat of the above-mentioned Goi) and of widely distributed nations, the King who rules the four quarters of the world.'

by which he designates his realm, embracing the whole of the East from Guti in the north to Ashur-nak in the south. The expression 'Ruler of the four countries of the world' signifies, moreover, according to Babylonian custom, a certain suzerainty over a portion of Syria.

Indeed, Aga, in his inscription, describes in detail how he succeeded in fetching back the idols of the supreme god of the city of Babel, Merodach, and his consort Zarpant, from the far-off Land of Chani, north of Aleppo, and in replacing them in their native temple amidst great pomp and solemn celebrations. This proves that, in the first decades of the Kassite Dynasty, there must have been a hostile invasion of Babylonia from this quarter, of which we have no further information. This invasion was probably closely connected with the revolutions which took place towards the end of the previous Dynasty and with the rise of the Kassites. On this occasion (the mention of the Land of Chani) we encounter the Hittites for the first time, and they will henceforth be often referred to. About one hundred years after Agukakrini, we find them already amongst the nations which sent presents to the celebrated Pharaoh Debarnose III., and about the year 1450 we see them spreading over North Syria.

Their original home, however, was the district called Chani-rabit by the Babylonians, and Chera'-o by the Egyptians, i.e. both 'Great Land of the Hittites,' near Mihd (Malatia), on the Upper Euphrates, north-east of Cilicia.

In Agukakrini's time, the most northern part of North Syria, the country around Mar'sah (Marchash), afterwards called Sam'al, Northland, must have belonged to them, as amongst the jewels with which the king decorated the replaced statues there was also the Su-Marchash—our Smaragd—(Arabic, Za-barged, Za-murred, i.e. the stone of Margad=Marchash), which he obviously obtained from there. Amongst the Babylonians, and especially amongst the Assyrians, the whole of the subsequently developed Chani-land is called Chatta (from Chanta, with the Semitic feminine

ending), and by the Egyptian Chetta (generally read Chets; compare the Hebrew Heth); the Semitic form also appears to have reached the Greeks as Esetoi, originally Henetoi.

**§ 18. Early Assyria.**—To the north-east of Babylonia, on the left or eastern bank of the Tigris, between the river and the Medo-Armenian mountains, in a far more temperate zone, lies the land which was subsequently to take a leading part in either Asia. The centre of this territory was between the two tributaries of the Tigris which in ancient times already went by the names of the Lower and the Upper Zab. It extended, however, in the north still further, in fact, as far as the little stream Chusit, which discharges into the Tigris at a spot which afterwards became the Assyrian capital, Nineveh, known under Gudea, about 3000 B.C., as Channa-ki, i.e. Sanctuary of the goddess Channa or Ghanna, the later Istar of Nineveh.

Between the Lower and the Upper Zab, on the right or western bank of the Tigris, lay the old capital, Assur, which gave its name to the entire land, and at the mouth of the Upper Zab Kalchu, founded by Shalmaneser I., or Calah (Genesis, chap. x. 11), which was the Assyrian capital for many centuries until the time of Sargon. Also between the Lower and the Upper Zab, but at a great distance from the Tigris, near the mountains which form the eastern boundary of Assyria, lay Arba-sha, frequently mentioned as the sanctuary of the other Istar, also called Arbela, now Erbil, the "town of the four gods"; whilst Tarbasu, another sanctuary, where a temple to Nergal was restored by Sennacherib, was situated on the spot which is the modern Sherif-Khan.

The Assyrians must be regarded, in point of language, writing, and religion, as the nearest relatives of the Babylonians. Indeed, as regards language, they scarcely differ. Pictorial representations however show that as regards their physiognomy they exhibit a much purer Semitic type than their Babylonian brethren, whose blood was strongly mixed with that of the Sumerians and the Kassites. The

most ancient Assyrian chiefs, who were probably still under Babylonian suzerainty, did not bear the title of 'King,' but called themselves *Patesi* (Priest-king, or perhaps Vice-king), of the god *Asher*. To these *Patesi* belonged, for instance, *Iuml-Dagan*, i.e. 'The god Dagan or Bel has heard,' which was also the name of a king of *Niniv*, and his son *Samsi-Ramman*, 'My son is the Air-god' (i.e. also Bel), who ruled, according to a later inscription, 60+64½ years before Tiglath-pileser I., i.e. about 1800 B.C., and built a large temple in the town of *Asher* to the gods *Anu* (*Astar*) and *Ramman*, i.e. here=Bel as Air- and Wind-god. *Samsi-Ramman* was another *Patesi*, as was his father *Igur* (or Bel) *Kapkape*, as well as one *Iridhu*, probably earlier than these two *Samsi-Rammans*, and termed a son of *Challa*.

The *Patesi* *Bel-bani* ruled at some uncertain time after 1800 B.C. He was the son of *Adosi*, and is especially mentioned by the later King *Sargon* as the founder of Assyrian Royalty; he was thus probably the first *Patesi* who revolted against Babylonia and assumed the title of 'King of *Asher*' This very probably occurred at the time when the above-mentioned invasion of the king of *Chama* took place, so that it was the same disturbances which enabled the Kassitic Dynasty to settle in Babylonia and permitted the Assyrians to renounce their old country and make themselves permanently independent.

**§ 19. The End of the Hyksos Period, and the First Pharaohs of the Eighteenth Dynasty.**—About the year 1600 B.C. one of the old Pharaohs who for centuries had been driven back to and kept in Upper Egypt succeeded in conquering the hated foreigners and in re-establishing the former dual-kingdom of Upper and Lower Egypt under one rule. This is reported in a narrative, couched in rather poetic form, on a papyrus-roll, as well as by the historian *Menetho*, who wrote Greek, and both agree on the main points. They give his name as King *Yahmose* or (with an audible *b*) *Yachmose*, the son of *Karnes*, the last king of the Seventeenth Dynasty. *Ra-akenen*, the latter's predecessor, had already

driven back the Hyksos to the boundary-fortress of Avaris, but Yahmose deprived them even of this support, and thus sealed their doom of final banishment.

Of course, this expulsion only included the leaders and soldiers; the great mass of people who had immigrated with them, consisting of Semitic Canaanites, perhaps too of Arabic Beduins, remained in Egypt, and this accounts for the great number of Canaanitic names and forms of worship which we meet with in the "New Kingdom" of the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Dynasty. Some of these Semites who remained in Egypt and who settled in the land of Goshen, or Kusiem, in the eastern delta, were the Hebrews who came with Joseph and his brothers, whose sojourn in Egypt, according to biblical tradition, lasted 430 years. As the exodus of the Children of Israel under Moses very probably occurred towards the end of the reign of Merneptah, about 1272 B.C., their immigration may have taken place about the year 1700, or at the beginning of the last century of the dominion of the Hyksos.

The name of the Hebrews, "Ibri, originally 'Aburi, 'Abir, also appears to recur in the word 'Apiri, the labourers who dwelt in the east of the delta, a name often mentioned in inscriptions from the Thirteenth to the Twentieth Dynasty, especially under Ramses II., the Pharaoh of the Oppression. The circumstance that we meet with the same name from the Thirteenth Dynasty, about Abraham's time, down to the reign of Ramses III. in the Twentieth Dynasty, shows that shortly before and after the sojourn of the greater portion of the Hebrews in Egypt, a small number were wandering about in that part of the Egyptian delta which was next to Canaan.

After Yahmose had driven away the Hyksos, he took Sharuheh, a town situated in the extreme south of Palestine, and fortified it as a base of operations for further expeditions against the Amorite land, as the Egyptians called Palestine and Syria. Yahmose and his son Amenhotep I. also marched against Nubia, and Dehetnose I. penetrated

as far as Dongola, near the third cataract, which was even further than the advance made by the Pharaohs of the Twelfth Dynasty. In Asia, the same king overran and conquered all the Syria minor States as far as the Euphrates, which was the first time that Egyptian troops had attacked and taken those territories, although they did not permanently retain them. This Pharaoh could thus boast of ruling from Dongola, in the heart of Nubia, until half-way up the Euphrates.

His successor, Debutmose II., who also only reigned a short time, was married to his own sister Hatashepsut. After his death, she had her brother Debutmose III., a minor, proclaimed joint-ruler, but as a matter of fact she carried on the government herself most energetically, and perpetuated her name by magnificent buildings, especially in Deir-el-bahari, and by a naval expedition to Pa'nat. Meanwhile, however, she lost her Asiatic possessions, with the exception of the above-mentioned Sharikhen, and it was left to Debutmose III., who, according to astronomical calculations, reigned from 1503 to 1449 B.C., thirty-three years of which he was sole ruler after the death of his sister, to reconquer the lost provinces, to fortify, and even to increase them. The expedition to Pa'nat which was now undertaken with a large fleet brought him great riches and curiosities, large quantities of gold and *elektron*, or white gold, frankincense-trees transported in pots or tubs, ebony, ivory, stibium, panther-skins, and live baboons. The pictorial representations which are still preserved belong to the most interesting in existence in regard to the history of culture in Ancient Egypt.

Unfortunately we know little or nothing of the Babylonian and Assyrian history of this period (from about 1600 to 1500 B.C.), as just at this point the Babylonian list of kings shows a hiatus, and the so-called synchronic history treating of Babylono-Assyrian matters does not begin, for us, at least, until the appearance of Kara-indas of Babylonia, king of the Kassites, and his contemporary, Assur-bel-ninl-su of

Assyria. On the other hand, we may put down to this century the first settlements of the Canaanitic Phoenicians (Sidonians) in Sicily, Sardinia, Spain, and Northern Africa, on the south coast of Asia Minor, and on a few Greek islands. These traders of olden times carried the culture of the East with them on their sea-voyages to all the shores of the Mediterranean. They occupied themselves especially with mining. They had silver mines in Tarshish, in the south of Spain; they worked tin mines in Portugal and possibly also in England, and developed large gold properties on the Thracian coast and elsewhere, whilst they established stations for catching the purple-murex. Astarte-Aphrodite, the goddess of Love, accompanied them; weapons were an object of exchange with which they traded; they taught the Sicilians games, for instance, the game of Kottabos,<sup>1</sup> and finally brought their most valuable gift to the Occident in the form of the letters of the Alphabet.

§ 20. Dehutmos III. and his Successors.—Dehutmos or Thutmos III. began his sole reign in the year 1481, and ruled until his death in 1449. The reign of this powerful Pharaoh was productive of a degree of external prosperity such as hitherto had never yet been enjoyed or attained by Egypt. In consequence of the heavy tribute and the large quantities of war-booty, the internal condition of the country also improved in a corresponding measure, and extravagance and luxury such as Egypt had never before seen spread over the land. Riches and treasure without limit accumulated at this period on the Nile, and foreign elements and new customs made their entry at the same time. In the twenty-third official year of his reign Dehutmos undertook his first expedition against Syria. His sixteenth expedition took place in the forty-first year of his reign, but at this point the reports on the temple-walls of

<sup>1</sup> *Kottabos* is derived from the Phoenician-Hellen word 'kharus'; Aphrodite from Adheret and Adoret; Myrra from the Phoenician 'remach' or 'remch'; *strigilis* from 'kunib,' salt, on which the drinking-cup was balanced.

Karnak, which unfortunately only narrate in detail the first expedition, cause. They are, however, now supplemented by Georg Ebers's discovery in a Theban grave of a war report by a superior officer, named Amen-em-het, couched in very clear language. According to this source, the Egyptians, allied to Southern Palestine, which later on became the territory of Simeon and Judah, began their expeditions from the northern boundary of Judah, advancing direct on Megiddo, at that time the most important town of Palestine. The king of Kadesh, on the Orontes, in the ancient land of the Amorites, north of Palestine, was the leader of the various Middle and North Palestinian towns which had thrown off the yoke of the Egyptians.

Amongst these towns two are mentioned, Ya'kob-el and Yashup-el, in which some have sought to recognise the names of the Hebrew patriarchs Jacob and Joseph. Of much greater importance are names like Beth-Ya, i.e. the house of Yahwe, by which the name of the God of Israel, probably first changed by Moses from Yaho, Yah to Yahwe, is proved to have been native at that time amongst the Canaanites of Northern Palestine, whilst the name of Damascus, Timane, assigns a certain amount of political importance to this old town. After this victory, which brought with it a punishment of the three allied towns of Yeno'am, Noyes, and Horankal in the Lebanon, north of Megiddo, all Syria was filled with the fear of Pharaoh, and the news even reached the distant king of Asur, who voluntarily sent rich presents, including large blocks of 'true blue-stone' (lapis-lazuli), and vessels of 'Babylonian blue-stone' to the camp of Deborah.

Deborah gradually subjugated and brought under his rule the whole of Syria as far as the Euphrates and northwards beyond the thirty-seventh degree of northern latitude, almost to the very boundary of Great Cheta-land. If we were to draw a line from the Gulf of Issas as far as the site of the ancient Zeugma, now Di'rejk, on the Euphrates, it would approximately represent the northern boundary of

the sphere of Egyptian influence and power at that time. It also included the towns of Carchemish (Jerubis), Haleb (Aleppo), Pitru (the biblical Pethor, the home of Balaam), Tunep, south of Aleppo, Hamath, and others, all of which names are to be found in Egyptian inscriptions. Tribute was also sent by Phoenicia, the land of Zahi, with its towns Sor (Tyrus), Sarepta, Sidon, Birut (Berytos, Beirut), Kupin (Gebal, Byblos), and Arvad, while Alasia, the strip of land on the coast north of Arvad, apparently only sent presents. To the north-west of this most northern part of Syria lies Cilicia; to the north, Great Cheta-land; to the east, on the other side of the Euphrates, between the Euphrates and Balikh, the land of Mitanni, which played an important part in the reign of Amenhotep III. Debutmose invaded the last-named territory several times, for the purpose of plunder. The Egyptians included it—like North Syria lying to the west of the Euphrates—in the general name of Naharin, in Hebrew Naharim, i.e. 'the two provinces on the banks of the river.'

In consequence of such expeditions his reputation spread not only to Cilicia (Keft), the island of Cyprus (Ami), and to the interior of Mesopotamia, east of the river Chabur (kingdom of Sangar), but also to Assyria and still farther east to Arzaphach, at that time clearly an independent State.

The princes of all these countries sent Pharaoh rich presents, amongst which the most remarkable are the beautifully chased metal vessels of Keft, pictorially represented in the grave of Rekh-mi-Ré, as their artistic style exhibits a surprising similarity with that of the most ancient art of the west of Asia Minor, and of Greece in the Mycenaean Period.

On the further bank of the Euphrates, perhaps between Balis and Rakka, near the town of Ni, Debutmose hunted 120 elephants for the sake of their tusks in a region where, almost 400 years later, the Assyrian Great-king Tiglath-pileser I. also killed ten elephants and caught four alive. A conqueror like Debutmose naturally also extended his kingdom in the

south, in Nubia, and thus we see the boundary of Egypt actually advanced as far as Napata, south of the fourth cataract. Amongst the more distant countries which sent presents, we also find certain districts in Africa to the south of Nubia, and the celebrated Afro-South-Arabian frankincense territory of Punt.

Debutmose III. was succeeded by the Pharaoh Amenophis II., who only reigned 3 or 4 years, and Debutmose IV., who reigned 7 or 8 years, both together not much more than about ten years. The death of Debutmose III. was clearly the signal for revolutions all over Syria, for his two successors had much trouble in restoring order and securing the possessions of their glorious predecessor.

Debutmose IV., however, does not seem to have quite succeeded even in retaining his possessions, as in his reign the Hittites appear to have begun their descent from the mountains, and to have gradually settled in Northern Syria.

A more accurate list of the kings of Babylon and Assyria does not reach us until the time of the successors of Debutmose IV. It can, however, be stated approximately which rulers are to be considered as contemporaries of Debutmose III., although it is impossible to say which king of Assur it was who sent presents to Debutmose. According to synchronic history, we are justified in making the following approximate list, in which the dots represent the reigns which are certainly attested as contemporaneous:—

| BABYLONIA.   | ASSYRIA.                                 |
|--|--|
| Chab-Shipak (or perhaps not till after Kama-indu?) . . . . . | Amar-samsu-ilesh and Ninur-Tukult-Assur. |
| Hilars? . . . . .  | Hilars?                                  |
| Kama-indu, . . . . .   | Amar-bel-riti-ri.                        |
| Hilars? . . . . .  | Hilars?                                  |
| Burnaburiash I., . . . . .                                   | Buzur-Assur.                             |

In all probability the last-named Kassite king of Babylonian, Burnaburiash I., was a contemporary both of Buzur-Assur, king of the Assyrians, and of the Pharaoh Amenophis III., at least during the first years of the latter's reign.

S 31. Hither Asia and Egypt during the Reign of Amenhotep III. and Amenhotep IV.—THE TELL-AMARNA PAPERS.—Upon no period in the history of Hither Asia has so much light been thrown as upon that between about 1430 and 1395 B.C. And even this has only happened within the last six years, owing to the discovery of entire archives of cuneiform correspondence on clay tablets in Tell-Amarna in Egypt, the site of the former palace of Amen-hotep IV., by fellahs who were searching for antiquities. The majority of these tablets found their way to the Berlin Museum, a large number to the British Museum, and some are in the Egyptian Museum at Cairo. The letters are addressed to the Pharaoh Nenmure'a (Mennure'a), and his son Nipherure'a, in which there was no difficulty in recognising the first names, Nib-ma's(t)-Rā and Nefer-Cheperu-Rā, of the two kings Amen-hotep (Amenophis) III. and IV. On closer examination, the writers of the letters were ascertained to be the kings Shaka-Kallimma-iszu, or, for short, Kallimma-Jozu (compare the other Kassitic name Ka-shak-ianzi) of Babylon; his successor (brother?) Burra-burias (from Burna-b.) of Babylon, son of Kurigalku; further, Assur-uballit, son of Assur-nadin-akhi of Assyria; Dushratta, son of Sutarna of Mitanni; Tarchendarada of Arzapi (Rezeph?); a king of Alasia, whose name is not mentioned, and finally a whole series of Syrian and Palestinian vassals or viceroys, amongst whom a certain Abdi-ibb, Priest-king of Uru-salim, Jerusalem, excites our deepest interest.

There has rarely been a find of inscriptions which has caused such sensation as that we are now referring to. Indeed, one episode in this, the oldest diplomatic interchange of opinions extant, has already been made the subject of a descriptive novel.<sup>1</sup> The most astonishing

<sup>1</sup> *Der verlorene Arkanus* (*The lost Arkana*), a narrative of the Ancient East, by Wilhelm Harry-Rey. Fleischer's Deutsche Reihe, 1891. February number.

circumstance, however, in connection with this find, is that the language employed was not the Egyptian, nor was it Egyptian writing, nor Cuneiform, nor Phoenician, as would have been expected, but the Babyl.-Assyrian language in cuneiform, and further, that this language was used throughout Higher Asia as the usual language of intercourse, even in letters to the Pharaoh's court.<sup>1</sup> Even a copy, found in Tell-Amara, of a letter written by Pharaoh himself to the king of the Babylonians, was written in cuneiform on a clay tablet, and not in hieroglyphics on parchment or papyrus. No circumstance can throw more light on the preponderance of primitive Babylonian culture than this. The simultaneous governments of that time, as they appear partly from that correspondence and partly from the synchronic history of Assur and Babel, and from the Babylonian list of kings, are represented in the following table:—

| Egypt.   | Babylonia.  | Assyria.         |
|--|---|------------------|
| Amen-hotep III.<br>(Nimrode),<br>c. 1438-1400 B.C. | Bersihuria II.<br>(with § 20.)  | Buzur-Assur,     |
| Amen-hotep IV.,<br>c. 1400-c. 1385 B.C.            | Kallima-Tura,<br>Kuri-galzu II.<br>(his brother?),<br>23+2 years.<br>Bersihuria II.,<br>thus c. 1400,<br>at least 25 years. | Amar-nadin-ashu. |
|  |   | Amar-shallit.    |

We should here note the following points:—That Artatama, king of Manna, was a contemporary of Dehaumose II., to whom, after a long struggle, he gave as consort one of his daughters; that his younger son Sutara, who succeeded him after the murder of his elder brother, gave his daughter Giluchips in marriage to Pharaoh Amenophis III., who was the son of that Mannaic princess, therefore

<sup>1</sup> This is probably an after effect of the rule of the last kings of the Charnu-regalite Dynasty over the Western Land.

his own nephew; that Amenophis III., in his thirty-sixth year, again married a Mitannic princess, a daughter of Dushratta, the son and successor of Sutarna, and that finally this same Dushratta entered into correspondence with Amenophis IV. on the subject of a similar matrimonial alliance. Besides, Amenophis III. was in the first instance married to Tiyi, another Mesopotamian lady, who is depicted with blue eyes, the daughter of Yuya and his wife Tuya, and she was the mother of Amenophis IV., and as such the rightful queen.

The Egyptian sources do not report much concerning the external policy of the two Pharaohs Amenophis III. and IV. They relate that the former, in his fifth year, invaded Nubia, and out of gratitude for his victory built a splendid temple on the holy mountain of Barkal, near Napata, to the god Amun, and that the kings of Assur and Sangar sent him presents. On the other hand, his numerous magnificent architectural works show the splendour of his reign, which lasted at least thirty-six years. The two huge statues, the so-called 'Menison Colossi' in Medinet Habu, represent Amenhotep III.

His son, Amenhotep IV., however, stands forth in a most peculiar character, namely as a religious reformer. Influenced perhaps by his Syrian mother, he introduced a sort of Solar Monotheism. With this object he left polytheistic Thebes, founded a new capital on the site of the modern Tell-Amarna, styled himself *Chu-en-Re*, i.e. 'Splendour of the Disc of the Sun,' dismissed all the priests of Amun, Osiris, and of the other gods in the whole kingdom, and endeavoured by every possible means to eradicate all reminiscences of the old religion. However, thorough as this reformation may have been, it was not of any permanence. His successor, who only reigned a short time, restored the Temple of the Sun built by him in Tell-Amarna, but returned to Thebes and to the old worship of Amun, and under Hor-em-het, the last king of the Eighteenth Dynasty, who shortly after ascended the throne,

the new heresies were extirpated, root and branch, and the previous orthodox Polytheism re-established everywhere, the half-finished 'City of the Sun' destroyed, and even the names and portraits of Amenhotep IV. and his immediate successors obliterated.

Meanwhile, the less we are able to gather from Egyptian inscriptions, the more we learn from the above-mentioned mass of cuneiform correspondence what was now going on in the Palestinian and Syrian provinces conquered by Dehuimose III. The dependent relationship, which was no longer very severely upheld even under Dehuimose III. and his two successors, now gradually began to slacken. A conspiracy of the Chabiri, apparently emanating from Hebron, but perhaps from a more distant quarter, caused a great deal of trouble to Abdi-tib, Priest-king of Jerusalem, one of the most faithful vassals of this Pharaoh. In Syria the Hittites, who were continually spreading further, endeavoured to stir up those vassals of Pharaoh who were nearest to them, especially the land of Amuri, north of Lebanon, and Nachassi (Leusges, Noges of the Egyptian inscriptions), and the Phoenician towns. Amenhotep III., as well as his successor, refused to listen to the urgent requests of his vassals and viceroys for armed intervention and support. Abdi-tib of Jerusalem woefully and incessantly prays in his letters for help, otherwise Pharaoh's land will unfailingly be lost. He says:—'Milki-el and Shuardat have advanced the armies of the towns of Gezer, Gath, and Kiltu (Kerchila), and occupied the territory of Rub'ub (the "Town of Four," "Kirjath Arba"; as Hebron was formerly called. Judges I. 10.) ; the land of Pharaoh has gone over to the Chabiri; therefore, may it please Pharaoh to send troops to enable me to reconquer the land for Pharaoh; but if no troops arrive, the land of Pharaoh will pass over to the Chabiri!'

Strange to say, we now possess letters of these self-same governors, Milki-el and Shuardat (who are described by Abdi-tib as allies of the Chabiri), overflowing with assurances

of devotion to Egypt. The same is the case with the letters of the governor of Byblos, Rib-Adda, on the one side, and the letters of his rival, Abd-Ashirts the Arvadite, on the other.

Especially instructive is a passage in one of the letters of the Babylonian king Burnaburiash to Amen-hotep IV., according to which, in the time of Karigalzu, the father of Burnaburiash, the Kuschians, i.e. the Canaanites or the inhabitants of the Palestinian Lowlands, had applied to him to help them in an invasion of Kaukitat, the biblical territory of the Kenizzites in the south of Palestine, that is to say, in the immediate sphere of Pharaoh's power, which Karigalzu refutes in the following words:—“If you wish to fall out with Pharaoh, my brother, and ally yourself with some one else, take care that I do not then march against you and plunder you.” To this Burnaburiash joins the following remark referring to an Assyrian embassy despatched about the same time to that Pharaoh:—“For the sake of thy father, my father paid no heed to them. As regards the Assyrians under my sovereignty, I have not made them journey to thee, but they went to thy land of their own free will; but if thou wilt keep friends with me, they must not attain their object, but thou must let them depart empty-handed.” His jealousy of the pushing Assyrians could not be more deliciously expressed than in these words.

§ 22. Babylonia and Assyria under the Successors of Burnaburiash II. and Assur-uballit.—Egypt under Rameses II. and Merenptah.—For the sake of clearness we append in the form of a table the names of the kings who will be hereinafter mentioned:—

Babylonia.  
(Burnaburiash II.)  
Karachardas, about 1375  
(Son-in-law of Assur-  
uballit).  
Kudurru-reshi I.

Assyria.  
Amen-shalat.

Egypt.  
(Amenophis IV.)  
(Various kings, the  
last one Hor-em-heb,  
see p. 56).

## EGYPTIAN CONQUESTS IN ASIA

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| BABYLONIA.   | ASSYRIA.  | SYRIA.                                    |
|--|---|---|
| (Opposition-king, Naai-<br>bugas.)                                 |   | Nineteenth Dynasty,<br>(Reigned 1.)       |
| Kurigalzu II., the "younger,"<br>45 (or 35?) years, about<br>1345. |   |   |
| Nabuchodonosor, 16 years,<br>about 1310 B.C.                       | Bell-airiti, son of A.<br>Padi-ili, son of B.<br>Rammam-nirari I.,<br>son of P. | (Seti I.)<br>(Ramses II., 1343-<br>1234.) |
| Karshum-Turgi, 17 years,<br>about 1294.                            | Shalmashesar I.,<br>son of R.   |   |
| Karshum-Serua, 2 years,<br>about 1277-1275.                        |   | (Mer-en-Ptah, son<br>of R.)               |
| X, 6 years, from c. 1273.  |   |   |
| Sagarakti-Serua, 13 years,<br>from c. 1269.                        |   |   |

Whilst in Egypt, with the exception of Seti I., at the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty, there is nothing further to report than the gradual loss of power by the Pharaohs in Syria in consequence of the continual advance of the Hittites, we find that in Babylonia Assyrian influence is continually on the increase, which is specially demonstrated in the marriage of the son of Burnaburiash II. with the Assyrian princess Muballit-Serua. The indignation created thereby in Babylon finally culminated in the murder of the king who came of this union, and the proclamation of a certain Naaiugas as king in his stead; but Assur-uballit conquered and killed the new ruler and placed his own great-grandson, Kurigalzu II., an infant, on the Babylonian throne.

When Kurigalzu II. was grown up and his great-grandfather Assur-uballit dead, he attempted to throw off the Assyrian yoke, but was vanquished by Bell-airiti and obliged to cede some of his territory. This proceeding was repeated under the succeeding kings. Their Assyrian adversaries, Rammam-nirari I. and Shalmashesar I., were two very powerful and energetic princes, who had conquered the whole of Mesopotamia, and thereupon styled themselves with pride "Kings

of the World.<sup>2</sup> It is from the former that we have preserved the first Assyrian inscription of any length, in which he describes the temples he built and the victories he gained over the Kuti or Ge, nations inhabiting the mountains east of Babylonia and Assyria, who had formerly been vassals of Babylonia. The custom of dating the inscriptions after the yearly appointed Supreme Officer of the Administration, the so-called 'Eponym,' is met with here for the first time; for the later period of the Assyrian kings we possess formal lists of Eponyms which have afforded us an invaluable means of producing a reliable chronological scheme.

The reign of his son and successor, Shalmaneser, Salmanazar I., was still more famous. He established the new residential town of Calah, rebuilt the ancient sanctuary of Istar of Nineveh (Ghanna-ki), and brought the whole of the north of Mesopotamia, along the upper course of the Euphrates and Tigris, under the Assyrian sceptre, at the same time making further conquests in the Armenian districts of Musri (north and north-east of Melitene) and Kirchi, mention of which is frequently made later on. He even undertook hostile expeditions across the Euphrates to Chami-rabbat, the ancestral home of the Hittites, who were then engaged in warfare with Rameses II. He also deprived Kadaanan-berias, king of the Babylonians, of several towns. A display of such military strength soon settled the predominance of Assyria over Babylonia, whose position as one of the Great Powers was now almost entirely a thing of the past.

In Egypt, Hoe-en-het, who had re-established the old religion of the kingdom as the only authoritative one, had been succeeded by Rameses I., and the latter, who only reigned a short time, by Seti I.

In the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty, the Egyptian boundary only extended as far as Carmel, or not much further than at the time when Dehutmoses III. began his great expeditions. All the territory north of

Kadesh, on the Orontes, in the land of the Amorites, had become vassal-suzerain of the Hittites, and only the neutral zone from Carmel to Kadesh, i.e. the Lebanon Range and Cœle-syria, separated Egypt from the sphere of the new Great Power.

Seti I. made an attack upon Kadesh, in consequence of which a war—which remained undecided—broke out between him and the Hittites, who were at once joined by the Amorites and the people of the Lebanon. The first to energetically oppose the Hittites was Seti's successor, Rameses II., who reigned a very long time, according to astronomical calculation from 1348 to 1281.

In his first expedition, in the second year of his reign, he assured himself first of all of Palestine, and then occupied Phoenicia as far as Beirut. He erected his statue on the Dog-river, Nahr-el-kell, as a boundary mark.

In his fifth year the great battle of Kadesh took place, on which occasion the king of the Hittites brought together all his auxiliaries. The personal bravery of the Pharaoh, which eventually decided the day, is celebrated in brilliant colours in the Egyptian lyrics called the "Song of Pentaur," after the name of the writer of the papyrus-roll which has been preserved. Amongst the Hittites' allies there were not only various Syrian vassal-princes like the king of Kadesh, but also a number of tribes sent for from the "ends of the sea," the Luk or Lyceans, the Dards or Dardanoi, the Mœni or Myciæ (?), the Yavan or Ionians, the Pidam or Pisidiæ (?), and the Kurkash or Kashkash, which suggests the Kaski of the Assyrian inscriptions, or the Colchians of the Greeks.

All these, as well as the land of Kauwaden (or Kadavades, i.e. Cappadocia or Kai-patuk, as it is called later in cuneiform), always mentioned first amongst the vassals of the king of the Hittites, prove that the greater portion of Asia Minor was under Hittite influence, an assumption which is confirmed by the fact that Hittite monuments have been found scattered over the whole of Asia Minor.

However interesting it is to meet the Semites of Asia Minor in the Scythian country as far as well, it is still more remarkable to find among the mercenary troops of the Egyptian Pharaoh not only the Libyans and Nubians, who were then commonly called for that purpose, but also Babylonian, Phoenician, the frequently imported Sardin or Sardians, who were famed for beauty of their armour and their bravery. They are already mentioned as auxiliaries of Rameses at Carchemish under the name of Sardians in the Tell-Amarna tablets, and were the forerunners of a movement amongst nations which we shall presently see under Merneptah and Ramesses II, hurling its main flood upon the coast of Palestine.

To return to the Hittites, the longest inscriptions give us a complete genealogical tree of their then ruling kings:

Sentencing, who have no objection to the suggestion, probably  
[ ]  
Herrmannbach am Rhein 1.  
Munich, probably a contemporary of Stilz and perhaps of  
Rosenau 1.

---

Munich 20. Oct 1911. After a long pause with Bullock Jr. In the  
(continued).

In the eighth year of his reign, Ramses II. completely conquered the Hinterland of north-west Palestine, Southern Phoenicia, which had already been invaded by Seti I., there would have been nothing remarkable in that, if it had not been that the name of this territory is given as Amur. This tribe, which appears subsequently as one of the twelve tribes of Israel, does, however, never appear received into the Federation of the Israelites until some time later, as we already find them in Palestine in the possession of the whole of Galilee. The best proof that in the time of Ramses II. the Israelites were still in the Land of Goshen, and that, therefore, the long-lived Ramses II. was the Pharaoh of the Oppression, is afforded by the fact that in the Egyptian inscriptions, as well as shortly before in the Tell-Amaru tablets, no other Israelite tribe is mentioned



FIG. 5.—SKULL AND MANDIBLE OF THE MUSEUM OF THE AMERICAN

than that of Asher, which, according to the Bible, appears to be half Canaanitic and half Phoenician. The result of the war, which was terminated in the twenty-first year of the reign of the king by a treaty of peace, the text of which has been preserved, is not by any means a brilliant one, if we bear in mind the sacrifices entailed. If we take the boundary-line of the conquests made by Seti I. as running from Zarpit (Sarepta) to the Lake of Tiberias, then a line drawn from Beirut to the south of Damascus, right through the Lebanon, would indicate the increase of the Egyptian possessions under Rameses II.; moreover, the Hittites undertook in future not to advance further south.

The remainder of his long reign was employed by Rameses II. in raising up a number of colossal edifices in various parts of Egypt. The ruins of Karnak, Abydos, Luxor, and Abu Simbel testify even now to the magnificence and splendour displayed, and it was especially these works of peace which procured him the epithet of 'Great.'

His favourite palace was at Tanis, the biblical Zoan, in the delta (cf. Psalms lxxviii. 12). In the delta, in the immediate vicinity of the Land of Goshen, he also caused the granary towns of Rameses and Pithom-Succoth (Egyptian, Pi-Tum and Teku) to be built by Semitic labourers, amongst whom a papyrus-roll mentions the Apriu, i.e. Hebrews (Exodus, chap. i. 12). Indeed, the words of Exodus, chap. ii. 23, 'And it happened after those many days that the king of Egypt died,' seem actually to refer to his extraordinary length of reign (sixty-seven years).

A remarkable incident happened in the time of Mer-en-peah (Merneptah), son of Rameses II., to whom Manetho attributes a reign of nineteen years, from 1281 to 1262 B.C.

In the fifth year of his reign, 1277 B.C., the Libyans, with a number of pirates of Asia Minor, Italy, and Greece, invaded the western delta in search of plunder, and were repulsed by the Egyptians in a brilliant battle. These 'Northerners from all parts, and from the Lands of the Sea,' were called Luku (Lycians), Akairash, Tush, Shakrush (or Shaldash), and Shards (Sardinians), amongst whom

we recognise the semi-nomads as having taken part in the Hittite war of Ramses II., and the last as Egyptian mercenaries under Ramses. It is now generally admitted that the Tursh are the Tyrrhenians, and the Akalush the Magyars or Achaeans, and as it undoubtedly appears from the pictorial representations that the Shards are the same as the Sardinians, it does not seem so very remote to assume that the Shakush or Shakush are the Sicilians.

If Merenptah, concerning whose death the monuments have nothing to record, and whose mummy has not been found, actually reigned until 1262, that would be the year in which Moses brought the children of Israel out of the house of bondage into the desert; for if Ramses II. be the Pharaoh of the Oppression, then Merenptah is no other than the Pharaoh of the Exodus. It is, however, possible that we may be justified in placing his death in the year 1275. The short reign of his successor, Seti II., was followed by times of disorder which were finally taken advantage of by a Syrian chief, Iru or Ilu, to usurp the government of the delta. It almost appeared as if the Hyksos period were to be repeated, when Prince Set-necht (a son of Seti II.?) succeeded in driving out the foreigners with the help of the Maxoi, a troop of Nubian police.

The Twentieth Dynasty commences with Set-necht's son, Ramses III., who, according to astronomical computation, ascended the throne about 1240 B.C., completed the Restoration, and ruled about thirty-two years, from 1240 to 1208.

The forty years' wanderings of the Israelites would thus belong to this period, from about the year 1275 until the commencement of the reign of Ramses III.; and the beginning of the conquest of the West Jordan Land would be about 1230. It is nowhere stated within the Bible that the 'Five Books of Moses,' the Pentateuch, which derive their name from the principal contents, are from the pen of Moses. It is not to be denied that much, especially many of the laws, come from the time of Moses, and must consequently be attributed to him. At the same time it must also be admitted that the present form of the Old Testament is the result of

several later redactions, and thus shared the mortal fate of every written book. The Fifth Book of Moses, found in the reign of Josiah, will be later discussed. In the first four Books three different sources appear to be distinguishable, which undoubtedly once existed as independent writings, and were subsequently worked up into one complete whole. First of all we have the so-called ground-text or the Code of the Priests, a rather systematic enumeration of the most ancient historical events and laws, the latter in special detail. In this portion the old name of the Deity, Elohim, the pluralia significativa of the word 'El,' God, is always employed. The second is the more popular 'Yahvistic' source, as another name of the Deity, 'Yahwe,' is used, which was the official appellation since the time of Moses. The third is a source—similar to the Yahvistic—which also employs the term 'Elohim,' and the origin of which is to be sought in the northern kingdom of Israel. The assumption is that the writings ii. and iii. were at first united in one book which it is customary to call the 'Jehovistic,' and which was subsequently amalgamated with i., the Code of the Priests, in the Books of Moses which now lie before us.<sup>1</sup> Since the writings of Reuss, Graf, and Wellhausen, the Code of the Priests is generally regarded as being the latest, emanating, as regards the greater portion of its contents, from post-exilic times, and altogether a later age is attributed to the portions containing the Law than to the prophetic writings of the period of the kings. But it is, nevertheless, a fact that the Code of the Priests also points, in its most important parts, to a pre-exilic time, and so these writings appear as three redactions, each written from a different point of view, but nearly at the same time, of the numerous ancient traditions of the priests and the people.

<sup>1</sup> In the excellent new translation of the Old Testament by F. Kautzsch (Freiburg i. Br., J. C. B. Mohr, 1893) it is easy to form some idea at least which chapters and verses—if it is at all possible—are to be attributed to each of the above-mentioned three sources.—ARMER.

§ 23. The last of the Kassite Dynasty—Ramses III. in Egypt.—The synchronisms of this period may be arranged as follows:—

| Assyria.                  | Babylonia.  | Egypt.     |
|---------------------------|---|------------|
| Tukulti-Ninjar.           | Bilqash, 8 years, about 1246.<br>Bel-qum-idin I., 2½ years. |            |
| " "                       | Kashshar-chaabi II., 2½ years.                              |            |
| " "                       | Ramman-sum-idin, 6 years.                                   |            |
| " "                       | Ramman-sum-umur, 30 years, Ramses III.,<br>c. 1239.         | 1250-1238. |
| Amar-nir-pal I., 6 years. | " "   |            |
| Tukulti-Assur-bel.        | " "   |            |
| Bel-kudur-umur.           | " "   |            |
| Ninjar-pal-ahura.         | Mili-shipak, 15 years, c. 1209.                             |            |
| Amar-dayan.               | Marrub-pal-ihun, 13 years.                                  |            |
| " "                       | Zamua-sum-ihun, 1 year, c. 1181.                            |            |
| " "                       | Bel-sum-ihun II., 3 years, c. 1180-<br>1171.                |            |

The powerful Shalmaneser in Assyria was succeeded by his son, Tukulti-Ninjar. He successfully attacked the Babylonians, who were already weakened by Kidin-Chat-rudas, king of the Elamites, under Bel-sum-idinā and Ramman-sum-idinā; indeed, he even conquered the ancient sacred city of Babylon, taking the treasures of the temples to Assur, and appointing his own governors in Akkad, Northern Babylonia, and Kardunias, Southern Babylonia, and thus placed the land under Assyrian dominion for seven years, which period the Babylonian list of kings attributes to King Ramman-sum-umur. A confirmation of this the first rule of the Assyrians in Babylonia is found on a seal of Tukulti-Ninjar, discovered by Sennacherib in Babylon in the year 689 B.C., and brought by him to Assyria 'after 600 years' (round numbers for 530 years). Finally, not only the down-trodden Babylonian nobles, but also his own son, rebelled against Tukulti-Ninjar, and they had him put to death.

A period of order now followed in Babylonia under Ramman-sum-umur (the name written in ideograms might also be Ramman-odin-achī), who reigned twenty-three years. Synchronic history reports that Bel-kudur-umur, king

of the Assyrians, fell in battle against the Babylonians, and that his successor, Marduk-pal-neser, had difficulty in averting the attack of Rammis-sun-neser from the town of Assur.

Marduk-pal-iddin (Merodach-Baladan i.), from the time of whose reign we possess a boundary-stone remarkable for its pictorial representations of the zodiac, appears to have energetically protected Babylonian independence, as he also styled himself 'King of the World,' as previously Shalmaneser had done, and subsequently Tiglath-pileser did. It was not until the long-lived Assyrian king Assur-Dayan, who reigned until about 1170, that it was possible to defeat the Babylonians under Zamama-sun-iddin and to deprive them of some boundary towns. After this victory, the power of the Assyrians was again in the ascendant.

During the reign of Ramses III., which lasted for more than thirty years, in addition to two small expeditions against the Libyans and their allies the Mashwash (Maxyes?), a war of great historical importance occurred in the eighth year of his rule, about 1332 B.C., directed against the Amorites, whose country had again been invaded by new hordes and tribes of those nations of the sea who were already hostile to Egypt during the reign of Merenptah. On this occasion they came in caravans, on carts drawn by oxen, bringing their wives and children with them, and at the same time many of them appeared in ships along the Phenician coasts.<sup>1</sup>

The Egyptian records say: 'No country could resist their arms, from the Land of Cheta, Kode (the land around the Persian Gulf), and Carchemish to Arvad and Alania; they destroyed them and pitched their camp in the heart of the Land of the Amorites, who were taken away prisoners, and the land itself was as if it had never existed. They came armed and threatened Egypt; their chief supporters were the men of Palast, Zakkal, Shakrush, Danan, and Washash.'

<sup>1</sup> Amongst those who came in ships, together with the foreigners, to plunder the Syrian coast, were the Palast and the Turshes, who are mentioned elsewhere, but the Turshes are not enumerated amongst those who came on land.

As they threatened to advance still further and to invade Egyptian territory, to which almost the whole of Palestine belonged, the Pharaoh quickly resolved to fight them on the boundary, and he succeeded, with the help of his Sardinian mercenaries, in repulsing them on sea and on land, and took the opportunity of making a cheap plundering expedition into the land of the Amorites, which, however, was already in a state of desolation. This was for a long time to come the last advance of a Pharaoh into Syria.

If we ask who, besides the Shakush or Shakush, were the foreigners who now appeared for the first time and, in the first instance, came from the coasts of Asia Minor, we shall find that these Danai may with probability be identified with the Danaoi of Argos, and the Palæt with the Philistines, who, according to Hebrew traditions, also came from abroad, namely, from Caphtor (Keft, Cilicia?). The last assumption is especially probable, as we actually do find a hundred years later that the Philistines were the bitter enemies of the Israelites, and so, according to an Egyptian source, during the reign of the Priest-king Heri-Hor, about 1050 B.C., the northern Philistine coast-town Dor is mentioned as a town of the Zakkal.<sup>1</sup> In all probability the Palæt and the Zakkal made several further invasions of the South Palestinian coast from the sea, even after the time of Ramses III.; thus, according to Justin, the Sidonians were hard pressed by a 'King of Ascalon' in the year 1300. That Cretans also joined the Philistines is proved by the bodyguard of King David, which consisted of Cherethites and Pelethites, i.e. Cretans and Philistines. It was a curious irony of fate that these intruders, who were perhaps already Indo-Germanised, and certainly soon became quite Semitised, were later on to give their name, Palestine (originally Land of the Philistines), to the entire area of the Holy Land.

<sup>1</sup> Already under Cherti-Shipak (?) 20) mention is made of a town Zakkal, which is probably to be sought in Palestine. The same record refers to a Chabirite, i.e. an inhabitant of Hebron. It therefore appears that the Zakkal invaded the coast of the Philistines at a still earlier date, and that since then at least one stronghold was in their possession.

The condition of Palestine and Syria was clearly altered by these incursions, to which the conquest of the West Jordan Land by the Hebrews was soon to be added. The power of the Hittites now appears completely broken. The Amorites, as soon as the Pharaoh had departed, must also have followed in his footsteps and occupied a large portion of Palestine, whilst the Philistines endeavoured to settle on the coast. That is the only explanation of the circumstance that the original inhabitants of Palestine are by Israelitic writers sometimes called Canaanites, Lowlanders, and sometimes Amorites, Highlanders, the original meaning of the names being in many cases quite forgotten.

In no other section of the biblical records is it so difficult to fix the chronological order as in the time of the Judges, a period which, according to modern calculations, can only have lasted a little over 200 years; for from the conquest of the West Jordan Land by Joshua, about 1230 B.C., to the coronation of Saul by Samuel, about 1010, there is a period of exactly 220 years, while according to the ordinary calculation a period of nearly 400 years would lie between the two events. It is not difficult to find the reason of this discrepancy. It appears that in narrating the history of some of the heroes who saved Israel in those days from the hands of various enemies, such as the Moabites, the Midianites, and the Philistines, writers simply took forty years into account as the "time of their judging over Israel," even where it was not known how long the heroes lived and worked. In the earliest times of the Judges there was an oppression which lasted for eight years, at the hands of a king of Mesopotamia (Aram Naharayim), who is called Cushan Rishathaim, the "Kashite of the twofold misfortune." Whether a Babylonian or an Assyrian king or a prince of Mitanni is meant, is not to be ascertained; the expedition of the Kassite king of Babylon, Nebuchadnezzar I., to the Land of the West took place considerably later than the date at which the Bible places the incursion of this Mesopotamian king.

## CHAPTER V

### *The Reign of Tiglath-pileser I. and the two following Centuries.—David and Solomon.*

**S. 24. The Successors of Assur-Dayan and the Babylonian Pashî Dynasty.—The Power of the Israëlitic Judges.**—Whilst in Assyria Assurdayan was succeeded by at least five rulers, of whom the renowned Tiglath-pileser I. was the third, the son in regular order always following the father, there arose in Babylonia a new genuinely Semitic Dynasty, which held sway already during the lifetime of Assurdayan, descending, as they alleged, from a certain Pashî who was probably the father of the first of their eleven kings. The following table shows the Babylon-Assyrian synchronisms of this epoch, which was one of great importance for the growth of Assyrian power:—

| ASSYRIA.   | BABYLONIA.   |
|--|--|
| Assur-Dayan, vide p. 77.   | 1. Marduk[x], 17 years, 1177-1160.                             |
| Meschali-Shulgi,<br>Assur-ri-shi.  | 2. [ . . . . . ] 6 years.                                      |
| Tiglath-pileser I.   | 3. [Lilbi-Marduk I]  |
| Amar-helbat.<br>Samal-Ramman, his brother.<br>Amar-nirari-pal II., son of S. | 4. [Nabu-kudur-uwâ or Nebuchad-<br>nezzar I.] about 1145-1130. |
|  | 5. [Bel-mâlik-aplu] c. 1124-1117.                              |
|  | 6. [Marduk-dâni-ashû]<br>c. 1117- c. 1100.                     |
|  | 7. [Marduk-shapli-shu] until 1080.                             |
|  | 8. [Ezronen-pâl-idin] 22 years.                                |
|  | 9. Marduk-shi [ . . . . . ] 14 years.                          |
|  | 10. Marduk-um[ . . . . . ] 13 years.                           |
|  | 11. Nabu-nim-[idin], 9 years, until<br>1047.                   |

We are ignorant of the circumstances under which the Kassite Dynasty, which had reigned for so many centuries, was overthrown in Babylonia. In any case, it was a powerful reaction of Semitism which was the active element, and showed itself conspicuously not only in the names of the kings, which were national Babylonian throughout (note especially the many names containing Marduk), but also in the long and eloquent inscription of the fourth (or third) king of the Dynasty, Nabo-kudur-umur, Nebuchadnezzar I. Unfortunately it is just the first seven names on the list of kings which are completely broken off, but we can chronologically fix the beginning as approximately about 1177, and likewise the total of the years of the reigns of Nos. 3-7 at sixty-five years. We can even insert the names in the hiatus, as we are here assisted by synchronistic history.

Finally, it should be mentioned that the tenth year of Marduk-nadin-aché, the Babylonian contemporary of Tiglath-pileser I., can also be fixed by a later chronological note of Sennacherib at 1103, 418 years before the destruction of Babylonia by this Assyrian king in the year 689 B.C.

Assur-ri-ak and Nabo-kudur-umur, his Babylonian contemporary, were two powerful rulers. The former is styled by his son Tiglath-pileser "the mighty king, the conqueror of hostile countries, the subduer of all the rebels." He conquered the Kuti (Gu) and Luhumi, two mountain tribes inhabiting the east of Assyria. The Luhumi had their settlements from the Lower Zab to the Upper Tigris, indeed as far as the Upper Euphrates.

He therefore conquered almost the same tribes who had waged war with Ramman-sirki I., and to whose territory the Babylonians thought they had prior rights. Babylonian culture—at least, exterior culture—had found its way into both countries already from the earliest ages, for we possess inscriptions of a king Lantab of Guin and a king Amubanini (a Semitic name) of Lullubi—as the Babylonians pronounced Luhumi—which are written in the same archaic characters as the inscriptions of King Naram-Sin of Akkad,

and also in Semitic Babylonian. Nebuchadnezzar I. boasts of having subjugated these Lulumi in the same way that he styles himself the conqueror of the West-land (Martu, Land of the Amorites). But the only detailed report he left in his inscription was of his victory over Elam and his vengeance on the Kassites. It also appears to have been in the territory of the Lulumi, in the north of Mesopotamia, where the two rivals met, and where the king of the Babylonians was defeated. The result of this was that the Assyrians could again—and this time permanently—rule over Charnu, the ancient centre of the 'Empire of the World' (kingdom of Kish).

Under the reign of Tiglath-pileser I., the mighty son of Assur-ri-isi, Assyria at once began its brilliant course of development, and soon became a 'Great Power,' a position which a few centuries later, under Assur-masir-pal and his successors, was confirmed and permanently maintained. It was the first time that an Assyrian king had advanced beyond the Euphrates as far as the Mediterranean. At the source of the Tigris, a relief-picture of Tiglath-pileser was discovered in which he calls himself 'the Conqueror from the Great Sea of the West-land to the Sea of the Nairi-Land,' i.e. the Lake of Van in Armenia. In another inscription it is related of him that he went to sea in Arvadian ships, i.e. ships of Arvad or Arades, the most northerly Phoenician town, which had previously belonged to the Egyptians, and that, on this occasion, he destroyed a marine monster called Nâchir, 'one who blows heavily, mors or mortis.' Indeed, he must have advanced as far as the Lebanon, as he hunted at the foot of these mountains.

His reputation penetrated even into Egypt, where at that time Libyan kings were ruling, and he evidently intended to reopen Assyria's former relations with the successors of Dibutmos II., when he 'caused a crocodile and a river-ass (obviously a hippopotamus), animals of the great sea, to be sent to the king of Musri (Egypt), and let the peoples of his land see them.' An elaborate report of

his expeditions is to be found in his annals, which contain about 800 lines. Unfortunately they say nothing more of his advance to the Phoenician coast and the Lebanon.

The greatest detail is devoted to the subjugation of the Nairi-land, i.e. that portion of Armenia which lies between the Van Lake and the Issian Gulf, especially the strip of land between the Van Lake and the Euphrates, near Miliid, and the Kirchi-land to the south of it. Tiglath-pileser's first deed of prowess was to drive back the Moska from the Euphrates and to incorporate the territory of Kummuch (Commagene) lying to the north of Charran in the Assyrian empire.

It is remarkable that Tiglath-pileser crossed the Euphrates, made the people of Chani-tubut (Great Cheta-land in the Egyptian inscriptions), near Miliid (Malatia), pay tribute, and advanced as far as the 'Upper Sea of the West,' i.e. the Issian Gulf.

No further mention is made of a great Hittite realm in this neighbourhood after the invasion of the nations of the sea under Ramses III. On the other hand, Arameans had settled on the Euphrates and attempted at various points to take the heritage of the former Hittite States. When they made another attempt, under Tiglath-pileser, to settle in Mesopotamia, between the Euphrates and Belikh, the former Land of the Mitanni, they were driven off and their pasture-lands along the middle Euphrates plundered, from Carchemish to Northern Babylonia, the so-called Suchi-land (the biblical Sheah). This territory is perpetuated in the Book of Job, in which the second of Job's three friends figures as the prince of the Shuhites, and the third, according to the only correct Greek translation, as the king of the Minnass; and 'Wise from the land of Suchi' is still mentioned in the cuneiform writings of the time of Nebuchadnezzar II., the renowned king of the Chaldeans. Tiglath-pileser also conquered the land of Muari in West Armenia, which had already been invaded by Shalmaneser I., and defeated its allies of the Cappadocian district of Kunina. Thus

## THE REIGN OF TIGLATH-PILESER I. 85

Tiglath-pileser not only restored his empire to the area which it previously possessed under Shalmaneser, but also considerably extended it, especially towards Armenia, and by his advance towards Northern Syria as far as the Lebanon showed future Assyrian expeditions the route they should take.

That a ruler like Tiglath-pileser should also keep Babylonia in check is a matter of course. Although his Babylonian opponent, Marduk-nadin-aché, succeeded in carrying off the statues of the deities Rammán and Salá from the town of Ikkalliti to Babylon, whence Sennacherib fetched them back 418 years later, Tiglath-pileser took as an equivalent several towns of Northern Babylonia, amongst them Babylon itself, and compelled the king of the Babylonians to recognise his sovereignty.

All we know of the two sons of Tiglath-pileser who succeeded him in Assyria, Assur-bel-kala and Sami-Rammán, is that the latter built part of the Istar-temple in Nineveh, and that the former maintained 'good peace' with Marduk-shapik-ziri, the king of the Babylonians, and that when the last named was overthrown by a certain Rammán-pal-édin, he carried away the daughter of this new king, with a rich dowry, to Assur. Assur-bel-kala transferred his residence from Calah to Nineveh. Tiglath-pileser reigned from about 1125 to 1005, Assur-bel-kala to about 1025, and Sami-Rammán, if he was the younger brother of Assur-bel-kala, from about 1025 until perhaps 1070. The son of Sami-Rammán was called Assur-nazir-pal II.

About this period, 1080 B.C., there occurred an incident which was of great importance for the history of the people of Israel, who were now developing in power and spreading in all directions, namely, their victory over the united Canaanites under Sisera, the general of Jabin of Hazor, at the brook Kishon, in the plains of Jezreel. This victory was celebrated in sublime song in the oldest Hebrew epic (*Judges* 5). The names of Deborah and Barak have never since been forgotten in Israel.

'Lord, when Thou wentest forth out of Seir,<sup>1</sup>  
 When Thou camest in from the field of Edom,  
 The earth trembled, and the heavens dropped,  
 Yea, the clouds dropped water.  
 The mountains quaked at the presence of the Lord,  
 Even yon Sinai at the presence of the Lord, the God of  
 Israel.'

In the days of Shamgar, the son of Anath,  
 In the days of Jael, the streets were quiet,  
 And travellers walked crooked ways,  
 The rulers ceased in Israel, they ceased  
 Until thou, Deborah, didst arise, didst arise, a mother in  
 Israel.'

In this manner Deborah is contrasted with the personages who immediately precede the action, namely, Shamgar, the Judge who slew 600 Philistines with an ox-goad, and Jael the heroine, but previously reference is made to the sojourn of the children of Israel in the desert. This Ja'el, however, appears to be a different person from the woman who is subsequently lauded as the Destroyer of Sisera. The battle itself is described as follows:—

'Kings came and fought,  
 Then fought the kings of Canaan.  
 At Ta'anach, by the waters of Megiddo:  
 Spoil of silver they gained not;  
 From the heavens the stars fought,  
 From their courses they fought with Sisera.  
 The brook Kishon swept them away,  
 The brook of the acacias, the brook Kishon.'<sup>2</sup>

(The post here certainly referred to the patriarchs who, when they left Mesopotamia for Canaan, must have stopped for the first time at the brook Kishon.)

'Arise, O my soul with might,  
 Then did the horses' hoofs stamp  
 From hunting, from the hunting of their strong ones.'

<sup>1</sup> Translator's Note.—The above is the literal translation of the version used by the Author of this Primer.

## THE REIGN OF TIGLATH-PILESER I. By

Beautifully expressed is the question of the mother of Sisera, who is anxiously waiting the return of her son :—

" Why is his chariot so long in coming ?  
Why tarry the steps of his teams ?  
Her wisest princesses answer her,  
She herself repeateth her words :—  
Surely, they have found, divided the spoil,  
A damsel, two damsels for each man,  
Coloured raiment as spoil for Sisera,  
As spoil coloured raiment, divers embroidery,  
Coloured material, two divers coloured embroidered  
shaws for the neck of the queen ! "

Whereupon the song concludes with the following proud words :—

" Thus must perish all Thy enemies, O Lord,  
But those who love Him are like the rising sun in its glory."

The entire poem suggests long practice in poetry. An interesting parallel to the conclusion is a passage from a letter of a Canaanitic prince, Abi-milli of Tyre, to Pharaoh Amenhotep IV. :—" Whosoever obeys the king, his master, and holds to him in love, over him the Sun-god rises, and a good word from the mouth of his master breathes life into him; if he does not obey the commands of the king his master, his town, his house perish, his name is extinguished for ever. The slave who obeys his master, his town, his house are firmly established, for ever endureth his name. Thou art the Sun-god who rises above me, the brazen wall in which I trust (?)." It has been recently observed, and rightly so, that such letters were not composed by the Viceroy himself, but by men who were well able to write prose and poetry, and who would be very fluent in poetical quotations.

Another incident of this period which claims our attention is the subsequent victory of Gideon or Jerub-ba'al over the Midianites, who made an incursion from the east, and the unsuccessful attempt of Gideon's son Abi-zelech to make himself king over Israel (Judges, chap. vi.-ix.).

**S 25. The Age of the First Israelite Kings down to Ass. and Omri.**—Scarcely anything but names fill the records of the period from the time of the sons of Tiglath-pileser and the end of the Babylonian Pashu Dynasty to the beginning of the reign of Assur-šârû-pal, under whom the power of the Assyrians again commenced to grow. On the other hand, these two centuries—c. 1050 to 884 B.C.—embrace the beginning and also the glory of the kingdom of Israel, which was only a short step removed from the activity of such heroes as Gideon. The new enemies that hastened this step were the Philistines. The Books of Samuel vividly describe the first period of Samuel's rule as judge, down to the appointment of Saul as the first king about the year 1010 B.C., his rivalry with young David, and the latter's final coronation, the opposition of Ishba'al,<sup>1</sup> and the ultimate triumph of David as sole ruler (about 1000 B.C.).

David's residence was formerly in Hebron, but he now removed it to Jerusalem, a town sanctified of old by its Priest-kings (Melchi-zedek in Abraham's time, Abdi-tâb in the Tell-Amara period, and Adoni-zedek, Joshua x. 1), and caused the Holy Ark to be brought there also: thus Jerusalem became the religious as well as the political centre of the new State.

The most important results of David's foreign policy were in the first instance the completion of what Saul had begun, namely, the subjugation of the Philistines, then the victory over and subjugation of the kindred neighbouring nations, the Moabites and Ammonites in the east and the Edomites and Amalekites in the south, and finally the repulse of the Aramaeans who were advancing to relieve Rabbath Ammon, a fortress of the Ammonites, the destruction of the empire of Zobah, and probably the imposition of tribute upon Damascus. Just as the Philistines were always a source of danger to Israel, so were now the

<sup>1</sup> The other form, "Ishbosheth," only implies a contemptuous replacement of the "Ba'el" element (Ba'el, Master, an attribute of Yahweh) by "Bosheth," shame.

rapidly advancing Arameans after the final subjugation of the Philistines.

According to 2 Sam., chap. viii. v. 5, David defeated Hadad-ezer, king of Zobah, of the Dynasty of Rehob, whilst he was in the act of establishing his rule on the Euphrates. Zobah was situated in Coele-syria, i.e. in the ancient territory of the Amorites; here and in Damascus, to the east of the Lebanon, was now the settlement of the Arameans, who had penetrated more and more southwards from Mesopotamia, from the Euphrates, on the west bank of which they were settled under Tiglath-pileser.

The Hadad-ezer to whom we previously referred apparently wanted to establish a great Aramaic empire, which was also to embrace the tribes of his Mesopotamian kindred. The reader should here compare the passage referred to in 2 Sam., chap. viii. v. 3, and especially 2 Sam., chap. x. v. 16: 'When the Arameans saw that they were defeated, they collected together, and Hadad-ezer sent to fetch the Arameans from the other side of the Euphrates.' Such bold enterprises, however, were opposed, firstly, by King Tei of Hamath, a prince of a Canaanitic tribe, as the name of his son Joram indicates, then by David, and finally by Assur-irba, king of the Assyrians; but this did not prevent a certain Rezon, son of Eliada, later on from revolting from Zobah, and founding in Damascus an Aramaic kingdom which lasted many centuries (1 Kings, chap. xi. v. 23).

The beginning of the reign of King Hiram of Tyre (2 Sam., chap. vi. ver. 11) also took place in the last period of David's reign. Hiram, according to the statements of Greek historians, mounted the throne in the year 969 B.C. and reigned till 936, 223 years from the founding of Tyre, and 153 years before that of Carthage, which took place, according to Timaeus, in the year 814-813 B.C.; he reigned till 936. In the eleventh year of Hiram, Solomon's temple was built, i.e. in 958; consequently Solomon ascended the throne in the year 962 B.C. As the date accurately

agrees with the improved chronological order of the Israelitic kings obtained through the Israelitic-Assyrian synchronisms, it may be regarded, in opposition to the usual calculation, as a doubly certain landmark.

Before proceeding to Solomon and his successors it may be useful, for the sake of clearness, to give the names of the Babylonian and Assyrian kings as far as we know them:—

| Assyria.                                    | Babylonia.                                  | Israel.            |
|---|---|--------------------|
| Ish-Rammim and his son                      | Dynasty of the Sea-territory,               |                    |
| Astar-nadin-achish, 1                       | 3 kings, from 2042.                         |                    |
|   | Sin-mas-ekipak, 18 years.                   |                    |
|   | En-Milku-ari, 5 months.                     |                    |
|   | Kassu-natio-ach, 3 years.                   |                    |
|   |   |                    |
|   | Dynasty of Basa, 3 kings,                   |                    |
|   | from 2022.                                  |                    |
|   | I-Ullus-sukko-anni,                         | Saul, c. 1010.     |
|   | 17 years.                                   |                    |
|   | Ninur-kudurri-usur,                         |                    |
|   | 8 years.                                    |                    |
|   | (Amil I =) Solomon,                         |                    |
|   | 1 month.                                    |                    |
|   |   |                    |
|   | Nirat as Elamite, 6 years,                  |                    |
|   | from 2004.                                  |                    |
|   | Nabu-shin-apli, 36 years,                   |                    |
|   | 1900-964. David, c. 1000-962.               |                    |
|   |   |                    |
| Amar-irbi (c. 970 B.C.)                     | Ninur-kudurri-usur II,                      |                    |
|   | c. 17 years, from 963. Solomon, 962-c. 930. |                    |
|   |   |                    |
| Tukulti-pal-ahhi (i.e.                      |   |                    |
| Tiglath-pileser I), c. 930.                 |   |                    |
| Amar-dagan (his                             |   | Rohobon (Judeh)    |
| son), c. 930-915 B.C.                       |   | and Jerusalem      |
| Ramman-nirari III, his Sennacherib, c. 900. |   | (Jerusalem).       |
| 900-882 B.C. Nabi-nim-ilku, c. 900.         |   | Am (Judeh), 41     |
| Tukulti-Ninur II, his                       |   | years, c. 911-871. |
| son, 880-875 B.C.                           |   |                    |
| (Amar-nirari-apli III.,                     | (Nabi-pal-ahhi, at least                    |                    |
| his son, 874.)                              | 31 years, c. 875-843.)                      |                    |

Of the whole of this period we know very little, with the exception of the time of the last kings. In Babylonia, Kassite kings again succeeded the Pishit Dynasty. In Assyria, King Aヌur-irba reigned perhaps at the same time as Nabi-ukin-apli (of whose period we possess a boundary-stone with representations of the zodiac) did in Babylonia and as David in Israel. The Arameans had deprived Aヌur-irba of the two Euphrates fortresses, Pethor and Mutkin, but he had, nevertheless, penetrated to the Mediterranean and erected a statue of himself in the neighbourhood of the Iasian Gulf, on Mount Aranous.

Information does not become more abundant until the reign of Ramman-nirari II. and his Babylonian contemporary, Samas-mudamrik. On the one hand, we possess the Assyrian Canon of Eponyms, dating from this period, and so invaluable for chronology; and then again we have the advantage of 'Synchronic History,' which tells of a victory of Ramman-nirari II. over the Babylonians at the Mount of Yalman, i.e. probably the celebrated Babylonia-Median mountain-pass near Holvān. Ramman-nirari took several towns from Nabi-sum-ikun, the successor of Samas-mudamrik, but eventually made peace with him.

With the beginning of the short reign—scarcely six years—of Tukulti-Ninjar, we stand on the threshold of a new period in Assyria, the period of the great conquests. This king advanced right up to the source of the Tigris, where he erected his stūpa next to that of Tiglath-pileser I. He appears to have subdued all the mountain districts from the Lake of Urmia in the east to the land of Kummach, an undertaking which his son Aヌur-elmer-pal resumed at once in the first year of his reign, and brought to a successful end.

In Israel, Solomon, who loved pomp and splendour, succeeded his father David in the year 962. This ruler rather preferred enjoying the fruits of David's successes than energetically continuing his work. During his reign of thirty years, he built his magnificent Temple in Jerusalem after a Phoenician model and with Phoenician assistance,

afforded him by his friend Hiram, king of Tyre. At the same time he favoured the foreign element and anxiously strove for the favour of foreign princes, whose daughters he took into his harem, and received homage from the Queen of Sheba, who had come from a distance, and who was possibly the mother of an infant king of Southern Arabia. Thus the Pharaoh of Egypt, who is unfortunately not named, but was one of the last named of the kings of the Twenty-first (Tanitic) Dynasty, was the father-in-law of Solomon. The destination of the celebrated naval expedition which took three years, including stoppages of the fleet on the way, was Ophir, the Arabian Goldland, i.e. the coast province of Eastern Arabia opposite Persia or Elam, the proper name of which was Apir, from Chapir or Apir, a part of Elam on the other side of the Persian Gulf. In the earliest times, already the trade of Babylon and India found its way here, for amongst the curiosities brought from Ophir were also peacocks, tukiyim (Greek, *tauēs*, from *taūos*) from the Tamil 'toghā,' their native home being in India. The equivalent for ape, however, is Kōph (Greek, *κῆφος*), and is not derived from India but from the ancient Egyptian 'Gōb.' Solomon sent for horses for his stud and stables to Armenia and Cilicia (1 Kings, chap. x. v. 28, according to the emended reading, 'Land of Meurim and Kui').

Whilst, under Solomon, Edom shook itself free with the exception of the harbour-towns of Elath, and whilst Moab and Ammon probably also fell off, he, on the other hand, effected the incorporation of several hitherto Canaanitic places in the interior and the division of the kingdom into twelve parts. Altogether the strict and well-ordered administration of his country remained one of the great benefits which Solomon the Wise conferred upon his subjects, and was remembered by future generations. Scarcely, however, had Solomon left his flourishing land to his son Rehoboam, when a revolution broke out. Jeroboam, who already during the lifetime of Solomon was one of the dissatisfied ones, and had

maintained secret relations with Shubat, or Shoshenk, king of Egypt, and first Pharaoh of the Twenty-second Dynasty, induced the ten northern tribes to come over to his side and was by them proclaimed king.<sup>1</sup> With this incident the division of the kingdom became an accomplished fact, and so remained.

This division of the kingdom induced the above-named Pharaoh to invade Palestine in the fifth year of Rehoboam's reign, and to risk an energetic attempt to regain the land which, under the great Pharaohs of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasty, had belonged to Egypt. However, it proved nothing more than a mere raid. We still possess an Egyptian list enumerating all the towns which were laid under contribution. Amongst them are the Israelitic towns of Ajalon, Beth Horon, Megiddo, Perez, and a number of towns and villages of Judah, but amongst them, up to the present day, Jerusalem has not been recognised. The words 'Jedah King,' which it was sought to read in the list, are now taken to be the name of an Israelite town, Yad-ha-melek (Hand or Power of the King). The Bible, however, proves clearly that the Temple of Jerusalem was also sacked (1 Kings xiv. 25 ff.).

The following are the Israelite-Judean synchronisms as far as Omri, the founder of the first Dynasty proper in the Northern Kingdom.

| JUDEA.                          | ISRAEL.   |
|---------------------------------|---|
| Rehoboam, 17 years (about 930). | Jehoshaphat, 31 years (from c. 930).                        |
| Ahijah, 3 years.                |   |
| Azaz, 41 years (?)              |   |
|                                 | Naboth, son of Jeroham, 3 years.                            |
|                                 | Bacchus, 14 years.  |
|                                 | Elish, his son, 9 years.                                    |
|                                 | Zimri, 7 days.  |
|                                 | Omri; opposition king, Tibni, 6 years. By himself, 6 years. |

<sup>1</sup> According to the original text of 1 Kings, chap. xi. 19 and 20, the Pharaoh had given him (and not Hezekiah the Esenite) Achzur (Sect. 'Arz), the sister of his cousin Tashperu (Gezer) as wife,

JUDAH.

ISRAEL.

Ahab, Omri son, 22 years, till  
c. 853 B.C.

Jehosaphat, 15 years (ascended the throne in the fourth year of Ahab's reign).

Whilst in Judah the son always succeeded the father,<sup>1</sup> we see that, except Omri, one king of Israel was always overthrown by another, Nadab by Baasha, Baasha's son Elah by Zimri, Zimri by Omri and Tibni, and Tibni also by Omri. The kings of Israel reigned first in Tirzah. It was Omri who established the new residential city of Samaria. To help him against Baasha, who was making war with Judah, Asa sent to Damascus for King Ben Hadad, the son of Tab-Rimmon, son of Hezion, who thereupon made an attack upon Israel and took several towns. If the names are correctly handed down, these three Aramean kings, Hezion—perhaps Hazael—Tab-Rimmon, and Ben Hadad, were the immediate successors of Rezon, son of Eliada, the founder of the Damascene kingdom, who lived in the time of Solomon. The Ben Hadad who is here mentioned must have reigned about forty years, and in the cuneiform inscriptions, in which he appears as the associate of Ahab, is called Bis-idri. We shall later see how dangerous an expedient it was for Judah to send to this Syrian king for help.

If the Queen of Sheba really came from the town of Saba, the modern Marib, in South Arabia, and if Sheba is not merely a later synonym for the ancient kingdom of Ma'īn, then the passage in 1 Kings, chap. x., proves that at that time already the Priest-kings or Mukaribis of Saba held sway in Southern Arabia, and thereby occupied the trade and frankincense roads to the north, especially towards Gaza on the coast of the Philistines. But it was the self-

<sup>1</sup> In one case, brother succeeded brother, as Maachah, the mother of Abijah as well as of Asa, is mentioned as the daughter of Abulom, so that, "Asa, son of Abijah," must be an error.

some Priest-kings who, according to some South Arabian inscriptions, put an end to the kingdom of Ma'in and its power, which extended as far as Northern Arabia, Gaza, and the East Jordan Land. We are indebted to the well-known traveller Eduard Glaser for the discovery of these inscriptions and the important circumstances thus brought to light. About 830 or 840 years later, Sargon, king of the Assyrians, received presents from Ixa'amar, a 'Sabean' (Yatha'amar, according to inscriptions, is the name of several kings of the Sabians), and at the same time from a North Arabian queen, queens being more frequent in North Arabia than in South Arabian inscriptions. That the writing and culture of the Mineo-Sabians must have existed long before, appears beyond a doubt, to judge by the character of the religion and the form of the writing. The god Athar (Amar) can only have been derived from the Babylonian Pantheon in the most ancient times, as later the name would have been taken over in its feminine form, or at least with a feminine meaning. (Compare the Phoenician Astiret from Latirit, but Astar from Isur.)

## CHAPTER VI

### *Fifteen Years from Assur-nâssir-pal III. to Shalmaneser IV.*

§ 26. **Assur-nâssir-pal III. and Shalmaneser II.**—  
Assur-nâssir-pal, who occupied the Assyrian throne from 884 to 859 B.C., was the first great conqueror after Tiglath-pileser I. Since that time—c. 1100—nearly all the places conquered by the latter had again been lost, and it was not till the reign of Tukulti-Ninbar II., the father of Assur-nâssir-pal, that an attempt was made to regain them. As death hindered him from executing his plans, it was left to the energetic Assur-nâssir-pal during a reign of thirty-two years to carry them into effect. In the east, he even advanced further than Tiglath-pileser I. into the Medo-Armenian mountains, and conquered the whole of the territory between the Van Lake and the Urmia Lake, indeed also a large area south of the Urmia Lake, consisting of the lands of Mannai, Kiruri, and Zamua. His model was the old Assyrian king Shalmaneser I., after whom he named his son, and in consideration of whom he rebuilt Calah and selected it as his place of residence. His first object was to definitively incorporate with Assyria the whole of the territory lying to the east of the Euphrates, from the mouth of the Habor up to the mountains which cut off Mesopotamia in the north. That was the only way in which he could create a firm base from which to successfully invade the Armenian boundary-lands and prepare for a subsequent conquest of Armenia, the dangerous rival in the north. Obstinate resistance was offered the Assyrians by the little Aramaic principality of

Bir-Adini, the 'Son of Eden,' as it says in the Bible (2 Kings, chap. xix. 12), but eventually Assur-nasir-pal compelled them to pay tribute. Syria was the next country into which the fear of the mighty ruler and his Assyrian arms penetrated. In North Syria several small States had arisen on the ruins of the Hittite kingdom, whose princes bore Hittite names, and whose inhabitants were either Semitic or Semitised. Amongst these small States was Carchemish, which was governed by Saugara. Assur-nasir-pal imposed a tribute on it, and also traversed the kingdom of Patin (or Chattin?), which had been established on the Orontes and Apri, and of which the capital was Konulua and the king Lebarua.

From there he proceeded to the north of the Lebanon and the Phoenician coast, where the towns of Tyre, Sidon, Gebal, Arvad, and others brought rich presents to induce the Assyrians to retire.

In Babylonia, at this period, Nahu-pal-Edinî was king—c. 835 to 853—and he was overthrown c. 853 and succeeded by his own son Marduk-sum-Edinî, after a reign of thirty years. The former maintained good relations with Assur-nasir-pal and Shalmaneser. A stone-slab of his, with an interesting pictorial representation of the Sun-god, reports that he repulsed the probably Aramaic Suti.

Under Shalmaneser II., 859-825, the Israelitic kingdom is for the first time brought into connection with the imperial power of Assyria. This energetic king considerably extended the boundaries of Assyria and strengthened the provinces he took over from his father, especially Mesopotamia. He then invaded Persia, the territory to the east of the Urmia Lake; Namri, which was formerly under Babylo-Kassite protection, situated between the Urmia Lake and Holwan; and finally the land of Urartu (Ararat) or Armenia, his adversaries being the kings Arzum and Sarduri I. The latter State had become a formidable rival of Assyria, and its power was not crushed until the time of Tiglath-pileser III. It was also Sarduri from whom

we possess the first old Armenian inscriptions, in Assyrian Cuneiform and Semitic Assyrian, whilst Sarduri's successors already used their own Armenian dialect, which is related to the Georgian, but in Assyrian characters. Shalmaneser obtained further successes on the Cilician coast, called Kui, and in Chilakku, the mountain-land behind Kui, which is Cilicia proper. On this occasion, the Assyrian king also reached Tarzi, the birthplace of Paul the Apostle, which we know as Tarsus. He penetrated into Tabal, to the north of Chilakku and to the west of Miliid (biblical Tubal), and took possession of its silver, salt, and alabaster mines. The inhabitants of Musri, an Armenian mountain-land to the east of Miliid, which had already been traversed by Tiglath-pileser I., also sent him presents, which are pictorially represented on the so-called black obelisk in the British Museum, and of great importance for natural history. They represent 'female camels with two humps, an ox from the river Sakiya, a two-antelope, a female elephant, and apes,' as the Assyrian inscription states. The Land of Kui,<sup>1</sup> with which King Solomon traded, is also on this occasion allied with North Syrian and Central Syrian States, amongst which we find, for the first time, a principality, called Sam'al or 'North Land.'

In Babylonia, probably about the year 853, Nabu-haldiš was overthrown by his son Marduk-sum-idinī, whose own brother, Marduk-bel-usati, rebelled against him. Marduk-sum-idinī now sent for help to the king of the Assyrians, who came at once and conquered Marduk-bel-usati in two expeditions, 853 and 851. Shalmaneser also subjugated the South Babylonian small States, and especially the powerful sea-province of Bit-Lakin, which had supported Marduk-bel-usati. We here find the name 'Kaldū,' Land of the Chaldeans, employed for the first time for the most southerly portion of Babylonia; it probably gives its origin to the word Kash-dunia, Kardunia, which was the name

<sup>1</sup> The Egyptian Keft, which differs only in having the Semitic-Egyptian feminine ending (Keft-t).

of the southern portion of Babylonia during the reign of the Kassites. We also possess a boundary-stone from this period with the usual pictorial representation of the signs of the zodiac, on which mention is made of the twenty-eighth year of Nabu-pal-iddin, and of the eleventh year of Marduk-sun-iddin.

According to the biblical Book of Kings, the following table shows the Israelitic-Judeic synchronisms of the period under review:—

| JUDEA.   | ISRAEL.   |
|--|---|
| (Ach's 27th year.)   | Omri, rival king, Tibni.  |
| (Ach's 28th year.)   | Omri by himself.  |
| (Ach's 29th year.)   | Ahab, Omri's son, 22 years<br>(till 853 B.C.).                      |
| Jehosaphat, son of Ahab, 25 years.<br><br>(18th year of Jehosaphat.) | (4th year of Ahab.)   |
| Joram, son of Jehosaphat, 8 years.                                   | Ahabiah, son of Ahab, 2 years                                       |
| Ahabiah, son of Joram, 1 year.                                       | Joram, son of Ahab, 12 (?) years.<br>(5th year of Joram of Israel.) |
| Athaliah, his mother, 6 years.                                       | Jeho, 28 years (from 842 B.C.).                                     |
| Joash, son of Athaliah, 40 (?) years.                                | 7th year of Jeho.   |

With Omri a new dynasty arose in Israel. He must have been a mighty ruler, as the Mesa' inscription states that he reconquered Moab, which on the death of David or Solomon had revolted, and as the Assyrians since then called Israel simply 'House of Omri.' His son Ahab was married to Jezebel, a princess of Tyre, a daughter of 'King Ethba'al of Sidon' (1 Kings, chap. XVI. v. 31), or Itoba'al in Menander's list of kings of Tyre, 885-854 B.C. As a sign of his affection for her, Ahab built a temple to the Phoenician god Ba'al in Samaria, the residential city founded by Omri. The prophet Elijah, one of the most venerable figures of the Old Testament, protested against this in favour of the worship of the only God of Israel. For him there was only one God, Yahweh, who 'revealed Himself, not like Ba'al, in the life of nature, but in the moral requirements of the soul.'

The expedition of Shalmaneser to Karkar, near Hamath,

in the ancient territory of the Amorites, also took place during the reign of Ahab in the year 854. The Assyrian king first marched to Aleppo, the Assyrian Chalvan, then at once southwards to Hamath, and thence to Karkar, the place of residence of Irchulini of Hamath, where he was opposed by a large force, including Ahab, 'Achabhu the Sir'ile,' with two thousand chariots and ten thousand soldiers. At the head was Irchulini with seven hundred chariots, seven hundred riders, and one thousand infantry, and Bē-īdri—the biblical Ben-Hadad—of Damascus with twelve hundred chariots, twelve hundred riders, and twenty thousand foot-soldiers. (The name Ben-Hadad has also been read Hadad-īdri; the first part contains a name of a deity and is written as an ideogram. It is clearly identical with the biblical Benhadad.) In addition to the foregoing troops, there were as allies the States of Kuā (Cilicia), Muṣri, a few North Phoenician towns, amongst them Arvad, then the Arab chief Gindiba with one thousand camels, and Ba'ata of Amnos. The whole of this immense army was defeated by Shalmaneser, but it does not appear to have been a permanent victory, as there are reports of two more victories, in 849 and 846, over the same adversaries, only that on this occasion mention is only made of 'Damascus and the twelve kings of the Hittite-land.' On both occasions the king of Israel must have joined in the expedition; only this time, as Ahab had meanwhile died, it must have been his son Joram.

During the reign of Joram, king of Israel, the Moabite war took place. At first it went against Israel, and the Moab inscription, one of the most ancient monuments of Canaanitic writing, which was found in 1868 in the ruins of Dibon, gives the following report of it:—'I am Moab, the son of Kemoa-melek, the king of Moab, from Dibon; my father was king over Moab for thirty years, and I became king after my father. I have restored the sanctuary of Kemoa because He saved me from all the kings and caused me to see my own pleasure on my enemies. Omri,

king of Israel, oppressed Moab a long time, for Kemos was angry with his land, and then his son succeeded him and he also said "I will oppress Moab." He spake this in my days, but I saw my pleasure on him and on his house, and Israel was for ever destroyed. Omri had taken possession of the whole land of Medeba, and Israel dwelt there during his days and half of the days of his son, forty years, and Kemos brought it back in my days.' Such is the beginning of this important inscription, which enables us at the same time to recognize the Moabitic as a Canaanitic dialect almost identical with the Hebrew. In one point, the Mesa' inscription does not appear to be accurate: Ahab and Joram are apparently one and the same person, 'Omri's son,' for the writer of the inscription, and the round number forty probably embraces the twelve years of Omri, the entire reign of Ahab, and the first years of Joram. For the Second Book of Kings (chap. iii. v. 5) says very distinctly that it was not till Ahab's death that the Moabitic king fell off from Israel, whereupon Joram and Jehosaphat of Judah and the Edomite king undertook a joint expedition against Mesa', which could only have been carried out after that mentioned in the Mesa' inscription.

Soon afterwards Joram was hard pushed by Ben-hadad, Bir-idri, king of Syria. The Syrians besieged Samaria, and did not retire until they heard a report that a hostile army from Damascus was advancing to the relief of Samaria. These adversaries were not, as was thought in the first moment of panic, kings of the Hittites and of Meuri (2 Kings, chap. vii. 6), but very probably the Assyrians themselves, who in the year 846 repelled their advance against Damascus. At last, in 842, Shalmaneser n. advanced, not for the first time, against Syria, where meanwhile the old Ben-hadad had died and his son Hazael (Assyrian, Chaza-ilu) succeeded him. A fragment of annals, which is so important for the history of Israel and is more explicit than the greater Annals, gives the following description:—<sup>4</sup> In the eighteenth year of my reign I crossed the Euphrates for the sixteenth

time. Hazael of Damascus relied on the large number of his troops, which he brought forward in multitudes. He chose as his fortress the mount Banîr, a peak in the Lebanon (probably the northern portion of the Hermon, to the north-west of Damascus). I fought with him, defeated him, and destroyed with arms sixteen thousand of his soldiers, and took away with me eleven hundred and twenty-one chariots and four hundred and seventy horses, together with his camp. To save his life, he ran away. I followed and hemmed him in in Damascus (Dimaski), where he lived. Its gardens of trees I cut down. I advanced as far as the mountains of Hauran. I laid waste towns without number and burned them. Countless treasure I took away with me, and I marched on to the mountains of Ba'alîr'a which overlook the Mediterranean. There I erected a statue of my majesty. In those days I received tribute from Tyre, Sidon, and from Japha, of the house of Omri.<sup>1</sup>

By the last named is meant the king Jehu of Israel, who in 842 overthrew the Dynasty of Omri in obedience to the command of the prophet Elisha. The relief of an obelisk shows the Israelites bringing presents, and bears the following inscription:—'Tribute of Japha, son of Chumri; silver, gold in bars, a cup of gold, a ladle (?) of gold, golden cups, golden pails, tin, a staff (?) for the hand (or the treasure ?) of the king, and spear-shafts I received.' The victory of the Assyrians over Damascus, from the siege of which, according to the clear hint in the Assyrian report, they were obliged to desist, was not of very permanence, and the presents to the king of the Assyrians were not of much use to Jehu, for he himself, and still more, his son Jeboahaz, were sorely pushed by Hazael.

§ 27. Ramman-nirari and his Successors.—The great Shalmaneser III., who was removed from the throne as the result of a revolution, was succeeded by his son Sami-Ramman IV., who reigned from 824 to 812 B.C. He marched against the Babylonian Ba'-a-sch-idin and Marduk-balatsu-ikbi, and against the province of Kalda, or Southern Baby-

Iosis, penetrated into Media as far as the 'White Mountain,' the Elvend, near Ecbatana (Hamadan), and endeavoured to strengthen the provinces of Mae and Barsa in the north and east of the Urmia Lake, in order to oppose the envious designs of Iapuini, king of the Armenians and son of Sarduri I. More important were the deeds of his son Rassuran-nirari (811-783 B.C.). He reigned a very long time, but as he ascended the throne when still very young, his mother, Sammu-ramat, probably a Babylonian princess (and if so, she must have been the Semiramis of the Grecian legend), apparently carried on the government in his name.

In Media he advanced for the first time so far as the Caspian Sea, but in the north and north-east his powerful rival Menus, son of Iapuini of Armenia, who, in his inscriptions, calls himself 'powerful King, great King, King of Biyana (Van), Prince of the Town of Tuspa' (Tosp on the Lake Van), deprived the Assyrians of some important territory of their vassals, Melitene (Chani-Rabbat), Daysini, and other places.

Under the successors of Rassuran-nirari III., namely Shalmaneser III. (782-773), Assur-Dayan III. (772-755), and Assur-nirari II. (754-745), Assyria continued to lose territory to the Armenians, who, at that time, were governed by the mighty Argisti (780-760) and Sarduri II. (c. 760-730), so that eventually all the Nairi lands north of the Tigris, from the Lake of Urmia to Melitene, became possessions of the Armenian kingdom. In Egypt, the Twenty-second, or the so-called Mercenary Dynasty, which was founded by Shoshenk I. (Shishak of the Bible), was succeeded by the Twenty-third or Tanitic Dynasty, which ruled in Bubastis, about 820 B.C., and at the same time a number of small dynasties arose in the Delta, a sign of the decay of the kingdom of the old Pharaohs. Outside Egypt, and extending to it, we find a new and independent Ethiopian kingdom arising in Nubia, the centre of which was Napata. In the year 800, the Ethiopians took Thebes, and twenty-five years later Memphis, which Tef-necht, one of the most

powerful prince of the Delta, endeavoured to hold, fell into the hands of Pianchi, king of Ethiopia.

The son of this Tet-nechti was Bokernanf, or Bacchoris, whose long reign, from c. 773 to 729 B.C., alone is reckoned as the Twenty-fourth Dynasty. He was able to resist the Ethiopians in the Delta for some time, but was eventually defeated by the Ethiopian Shabaka, Sabaka, Assyrian Shabakū, who founded the Twenty-fifth or Ethiopian Dynasty in Egypt. In reference to the following table of synchronisms, it should be remarked that from this period the biblical records of dates become less reliable, and are most uncertain as regards the time of Tiglath-pileser III. and Shalmaneser IV., during which only those dates confirmed by Assyrian synchronisms may be regarded as reliable landmarks, all other dates being only approximate.

| JESUAH.   | ISRAEL.   |
|---|---|
| Josh, son of Abijah, 40 years.<br>(23rd year of Josiah—Josiah.)         | (7th year of Jeho, who, according to the Bible, reigned 18 years and, according to Assyrian inscriptions, succeeded the throne in 747 B.C.) |
| (45th year of Josiah—Josiah.)   | Jehoahaz, son of Jeho, 17 years.  |
| Amariah, son of Josiah—Josiah, 29 years.                                | Josah, son of Jehoahaz, 16 years.<br>(1st year of Josah—Irael.)   |
| (15th year of Amaniah.)   | Jeroboam II., son of Josah, 41 years.<br>c. 745-745 B.C.  |
| Amariah, son of Amaniah (according to a King., chap. xxv. 2, 32 years). | (27th year of Jeroboam.)  |

Under Jehoahaz and Josah, Israel suffered a great deal at the hands of the Syrians, who daily became more boastful. They also invaded Judah, where the king, Josah-ben-Amaniah, had to buy off Hazael with the last treasures of the Temple, and induce him to retire.

But Josah, king of Israel, succeeded in thrice defeating the son and successor of Hazael, whom the Bible again calls Benhadad (Benhadad II.), and recapturing from the Syrians the towns lost under Jehoahaz. At the same time, i.e. about

800 B.C., the march of conquest of Ramman-nirari II. to Damascus took place, but of this expedition we only have the following short report, the text of which is as follows:—  
 'From above the Euphrates I subjugated the Land Chatta (Land of the Hittites or Northern Syria) and the Land of Aヌmu (Carræ-Syria), its whole length and breadth, Tyre, Sidon, the Land of Chemri (Israel), Udom (Edom), Palastu (the Land of the Philistines) as far as the great Sea of the Occident. I imposed payments and tribute. I marched to the Land of the Asses (Damascus), and shut up Mar'i, its king, in his capital, Damascus; the fear of the glory of Assur, my master, overcame him, and he fell at my feet and submitted. I took possession of 3300 talents of silver, 30 talents of gold, 3000 talents of copper, 5000 talents of iron, coloured raiment, mantles, an ivory couch, a parasol studded with ivory and jewels, money and property, without count, all of which was brought to me in Damascus, his residence, in the interior of his palace.'  
 This King Mar'i is either the same son of Hazael whom the Bible calls Benhadad (in which case Mar'i, 'my lord,' would only be a general title like the Egyptian 'Pharaoh'), or an elder brother of Benhadad II. In any case, the victories of Joash of Israel over Benhadad II. are intimately connected with the defeat of the Syrians by the Assyrians. Also Amaziah of Judah, who had taken their capital Sela (Petra) from the Edomites, and growing arrogant at the achievement, had challenged Joash of Israel to a battle, was defeated by the latter and taken prisoner, whilst Joash plundered the Temple at Jerusalem as the Syrians did previously. The correct translation of the passage in the Second Book of Kings, chap. xxv. v. 8, is:—'Come, we will measure our strength together!' whereupon Joash of Israel replies to the king of Judah: 'Because thou didst successfully defeat the Edomites, thou art led away by thy arrogance. Retain the glory and remain at home!'

It is a great pity that we have no details of the expedition of Ramman-nirari, especially whether he actually did attack

Israel or Edom—in which latter case he must have advanced further south than any previous Assyrian king—or whether these states and the Philistine towns only sent presents to Damascus. It is, however, a fact that from this date Israel began to prosper, and reached—under Jeroboam II.—a degree of exterior power which could well compare with the time of David. This ruler restored the boundaries of Israel “from the road to Hamath as far as the Dead Sea.”

The eclipse of the sun of the year 763, mentioned in the Assyrian list of Eponyms, as well as in Amos, chap. viii. v. 9, also happened in his reign. The prophetic announcements of Amos certainly acted as a striking note of discord in those days of gladness and festivity, and were realised only too soon. The prophet Hosea also lived and prophesied during the reign of Jeroboam II.; his last fourteen years belong to the first half of the reign of Azariah of Judah, who is called Uzziah (from Uzziyah?) by the contemporary prophet Isaiah.

Uzziah restored the harbour-town Elath on the Red Sea, and settled a Jewish colony there, in the most southern portion of the Land of Edom. According to 2 Kings, chap. xv. v. 2., this king is said to have reigned fifty-two years, in the latter period (in consequence of his having become a leper) in conjunction with his son Jotham, but according to the asynchronism the number of years is much too high. It is probably a mistake for twenty-eight.

### I 28. TIGLATH-PILESER III., SHALMANESER IV., AND THE LAST PASSING OF THE KINGDOM OF SAMARIA.

When the power of the Assyrians under the successors of Ramman-nirari III. threatened to wane—and wane rapidly—especially in the advantage of Armenia, a certain Pul (Pul) boldly and, as it proved, happily usurped the government and ascended the throne of Assyria on the 13th Iyar of the year 745 as Tiglath-pileser III.

He was the founder of the Assyrian rule over the whole world. During the eighteen years of his reign (until the month of Tebet of the year 737 B.C.) he brought Babylonia for the first time under the Assyrian sceptre. Nabu-nasir was king of Babylon from 747 to 734 and Naba-nadin-ziri from 733 to 732. Tiglath-pileser reconquered the provinces previously lost to Armenia, and incorporated a large part of Syria in the Assyrian kingdom.

In Babylon the independence of the country was always endangered on two sides: firstly, by the Aramaic tribes, who pitched their tents on the Babylo-Elamitic boundaries, and amongst whom the Pekôdæ mentioned in the Bible (Pekôd, Ezekiel, chap. xxiii. v. 23, and Jeremiah, chap. I. v. 21) and the Gambûs played a great part, while the Nabatæans, who appeared later on in the north-west of Arabia, also belonged to these Aramaeans; and secondly, by the South and Central Babylonian minor States of the Kaldi or Chaldeans.

Tiglath-pileser marched against the former, the Aramaic tribes, at once, in the first year of his reign, probably at the invitation of the Babylonian king Nabu-nasir, who was obliged to allow Tiglath-pileser to pose already as suzerain of Babylonia, and, after the subjection of the Aramaeans, as king of Sumir and Akkad. The only title he left to Nabu-nasir was that of 'King of Babylon.' Then came the turn of the Chaldean States, whose chiefs were probably the instigators of the Aramaic rebellions. Punishment was meted out especially to a certain Ukin-zir of Bit-Amukkini (Chianzon of the Ptolemaic list of kings commencing with Nabonassar) who, in 731, seized the Babylonian throne. This circumstance enabled the Assyrian king to show himself as a generous protector of the Babylonians. He defeated Ukinzir in 729, who had offered obstinate resistance, and caused himself to be crowned king of Babylon on New Year's Day (1st Nisan = 1st March), 728, for which reason the Ptolemaic Canon mentions him also in the year 728/7, under the name of Poros, as a ruler in Babylon,

whilst the Babylonian list of kings mentions him under his Assyrian regal title.

The next thing to be done was to restore Assyrian influence in Armenia and in the territory of the Nairi situated between Armenia and Mesopotamia, then in Media, and finally in Northern Syria. So in the year 744 he marched through Nairi deep into the interior of Media, as far as the Bikri Mountains, Mount Demavend south of the Caspian Sea, and reconquered later the Median provinces of Parua<sup>1</sup> and Butus nearest to Armenia.

The key to Northern Syria was the fortress of Arpad, north of Aleppo, and this was still occupied by the Armenians. Thither Tiglath-pileser set out in the year 743. But it was three years before the town capitulated—in 740—to the Assyrians who were besieging it. In the same year, 743, King Sarduri of Armenia was defeated near the Upper Euphrates, upon which his allies, the chiefs of the North Syrian minor States, hastened to pay homage to Tiglath-pileser in order to save their land. In the course of further expeditions the Nairi provinces were conquered, and finally, in 735, the Assyrians made a raid into the interior of Armenia, although they were unable to carry Turutsa on the Van Lake, which was situated on a rugged eminence.

In 738, the eighth year of his reign, Tiglath-pileser took Kullail, a town on the north of Hamath, or Calneh, which Isaiah (chap. x. v. 9) states came under the rule of Sargon; it was also the residence of Azriyā of Ta'udi. Azriyā was defeated and probably killed, his land taken from him, as well as nineteen districts of Hamath under his rule, and an Assyrian governor was appointed in Kullail, the capital. It is therefore not surprising that all the neighbouring, still independent kings of Syria, and even a number of other princes at a distance, paid homage to the king: Kusarpi of Kummuck, Rassoum (Rezon) of Damascus, Minichonni of Samirina (Menahem of Samaria—Israel), Hiram of

<sup>1</sup> Parua is now generally accepted instead of the former spelling, Barua. Parua also occurs.

Tyre, Sibitti-bi'l of Geblu (Gebal), Uriki of Kai (Cilicia), Pisiris of Carchemish, Isili (Eniel) of Hamath, Panammu of Sam'al, Tarchulara of Gurgum, Sululum of Millid, Dadile (Dadi-el?) of Kask (Colchis), Vasurmi of Tabal, and even Zabibi, a queen of Arabia.

In the year 734 another expedition was undertaken to the western provinces on the coast of the Philistines, where, in the first place, King Hanno of Gaza was defeated. Gaza was taken and compelled to pay tribute. Hanno fled to Egypt. In the following year Tiglath-pileser marched against Rezon of Damascus and against the Israelites, over whom Pekah then ruled. Rezon was defeated and Damascus besieged, but it was not taken until 732. In Israel, Tiglath-pileser took a number of towns and the whole of the land of Naphtali (2 Kings, chap. xv. 29), so that Pekah was forced to pay a considerable tribute. Shortly afterwards, in 733 or 732, Pekah was murdered, and Hosea (Aos'i) confirmed by Tiglath-pileser as king over Israel. After the fall of Damascus, which now remained an Assyrian possession under a governor, the Princes Saniba of Ammon, Salomo of Moab, Minati of Ascalon, Ya'shuza (i.e. Ahaz, fuller Jeho-shaz) of the Ya'shuzeans, i.e. of Judah, and Kaus-malak of Edom, were all compelled to pay tribute. Ahaz indeed had previously already applied for help to the king of Assyria against Pekah of Israel and Rezon, who had deprived him of the harbour of Elath. Samai, an Arabian queen, was also defeated by the Assyrians, who on this occasion, for the first time, penetrated into Northern Arabia. Hereupon several Arabian tribes, even the far-distant Sabarians, sent rich presents.

In Media and Syria, new provinces were thus added to the Assyrian kingdom; the powerful kings of Damascus had ceased to exist, other territories previously free and independent had become vassals of Assyria, and the power of the most dangerous rival, the king of Armenia, was broken. Tiglath-pileser was the first to follow systemati-

cally a policy which was continued by later kings; as the cuneiform inscriptions frequently state, and as is also mentioned in the Second Book of Kings, chap. xv. v. 29, and chap. xxii. v. 6, entire sections of the population were transported to other distant provinces, and the territory thus become empty was re-peopled with other prisoners of war.

Tiglath-pileser III. was followed by Shalmaneser, Sennacherib IV., from 726 to 722 B.C. As king of Babylonia he was called Ulai, Elulai, i.e. he who was born in the month of Elul. By some he is regarded as the son of Tiglath-pileser, but this cannot be proved, as we have no inscriptions of his reign, which only lasted five years. Amongst the few incidents of his reign which are known are his conquest of a probably Syroean town, Shabari'ip (the biblical Sepharvaim, 2 Kings, chap. xviii. v. 24?), towards the end of the year 727, and the siege of Samaria. The taking of the town, however, after a siege of three years, falls in the first months of the reign of his successor Sargon, which accounts for the latter ascribing this deed, as well as the deportation of the ten tribes of Israel, to himself, without mentioning his predecessor, whilst the Bible rightly connects the name of Shalmaneser IV. with the end of the Northern Kingdom in 722 B.C.

The following are the Israelitic-Judaic synchronisms according to the chronology of the Books of Kings, but which at this point contain several errors which it is difficult to correct:—

| JESUS.                            | ISRAEL.                               |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Azarias, son of Amaziah.          | (27th year of Jeroboam II.)           |
| (14th year of Azarias.)           | 41st (last) year of Jeroboam.)        |
| 18th (read 19th) year of Azarias. | Zacharias, son of Jeroboam, 6 months. |
| 19th (read 19th) year of Azarias. | Shallum, son of Jareb, 1 month.       |
| 19th (read 19th) year of Azarias. | Menahem, son of Gadi, 10 years.       |
| 20th (read 20th) year of Azarias. | Pekahiah, son of Menahem, 3 years.    |
| Jotham, son of Azarias, 16 years. | Pekah, son of Remaliah, 20 years,     |
| Aba, son of Jotham, 16 years.     | (last year of Pekah.)                 |
| (22th year of Aba.)               | (17th year of Pekah.)                 |
|                                   | Hoshea, son of Eliel, 9 years.        |

Against which we have the following undoubted synchronisms in the records of Tiglath-pileser:—

Yahuash (Ahaz) of Judah.  
734 and 733 B.C.

Minchimni of Samaria, 730 B.C.  
Pekahya of Bit-Chaun, 732.  
Assyrian successor, 732.

As Minchimni of Samaria can be no other than Menahem of Israel (comp. 2 Kings, chap. xii. v. 19-21), and as Rausum of Damascus, the contemporary of all these kings, must be identical with Rezin of Aram mentioned in 2 Kings, chap. xv. v. 37, and chap. xvi. v. 5, it is clear that between Menahem and Hosea there were not two kings, but only one, Pekah, who reigned only two years. The assumption that there was a king Pekabiah is probably only due to the two manners of writing Pekah. The figure a standing next to Pekabiah is correct; that of 20 next to Pekah must be struck out. In the twentieth year of the reign of Jotham Hosea came to the throne, according to 2 Kings, chap. xii. v. 30, whilst the passage in 2 Kings, chap. xvi. v. 1, gives the date more correctly as the twelfth (read second) year of Ahaz; but whether Jotham only reigned sixteen months by himself, or perhaps came to the throne simultaneously with Menahem, it is, with the means at present at our disposal, impossible to ascertain.

Just then, when Israel's star was on the wane, Egypt again makes its appearance after a long interval, although keeping at first rather in the background, with the object of stirring up the nearest Palestinian States against Assyria. Thus Hanno of Gaza, who had been defeated by Tiglath-pileser, had fled to one of the minor princes of Lower Egypt, Sib'i by name, as Sargon calls him, or Sevib, as the Hebrew So' ought correctly to be vocalised, and this self-same Sib'i induced Hosea, king of Israel, to cease paying the tribute due to the Assyrians, which, as we have seen, was to cost Hosea his throne and his land, for Shalmaneser at once began to besiege Samaria (2 Kings, chap. xviii. v. 4).

## CHAPTER VIII

### *Assyria, Judah, and Egypt during the time of the Sargonids.*

§ 29. The Zenith of Assyrian Power under Sargon.—The throne of Assyria was now occupied by another usurper, Sargon, 721 to 705 B.C., who traced the origin of his family to the ancient Assyrian prince Bel-bani, son of Adasi. It was in the 'beginning of his reign' (722 is the first official year, which is always distinguished from the 'beginning') that Samaria fell, after a siege of three years, and Sargon deported its 27,290 inhabitants 'to Halah and Habor, the river of Gozan and the towns (mountains?) of Media' (2 Kings, chap. xvii. v. 6), and in their place he settled Babylonian (Kuthites?) and other colonists in the territory, which had now become the seat of a governor. To the north of Nineveh, on the site of the modern Khorabad, Sargon built a new palace—excavated in 1842-3 by Botta, a Frenchman—which he called Dur-Sarru-ukin, the stronghold of Sargon. The numerous inscriptions and pictorial representations obtained from this are still preserved in the Louvre in Paris, and they give us the most precise information concerning the reign of this mighty king, which, together with that of Tiglath-pileser III., formed the zenith of Assyrian power. His chief object was to strengthen Babylon, as well as the northern provinces on the boundaries of Armenia and Syria, and this design at the outset prescribed the course of his most important military achievements, namely, the final subjection of the

Armenians, whose king at the time of Sargon was Rusa or Ursu (Rusa), a son of Irmenas; the humiliations of the Mannaeans, the most powerful allies of the Armenians (Meni, Jeremiah, chap. li. v. 27, which probably ought to read Mannai, also combined with Ararat, i.e. Armenia), and of the Eranian nomad tribe of the Sagartians (Assyrian, Zikru) on their east; and finally the war against the Elamites, who now became the most dangerous enemies of the Assyrian "Great Power," nearly always being allied with the South Babylonian minor States, especially Bit-Lakin, and especially from the time of Sennacherib in hostile opposition to the Assyrians.

The Mannean prefect Dayukku, who was defeated in 715 by Sargon and deported to Hamath, for having revolted from the Assyrians and gone over to Rusa, is the well-known Deioces, the first Median king of the later legends. From the time of Sargon onwards, we remark more and more Eranian, i.e. Indo-Germanic, tribes spreading in the eastern mountain-lands.

In Babylonia, Marduk-pal-iddin of Bit-Lakin, the Merodach-baladan of the Bible, whom we there first meet with under Hezekiah, as a contemporary of Sennacherib, now seized the throne with the assistance of King Chumbanigas (Unmanigas) of Elam; as the battle which was fought in the year 721 against the Elamitic troops was an undecided one, Merodach-baladan was able to hold out another twelve years in Babylon, 721-710. It was not until 709 that he was beaten by Sargon and deposed, so that thenceforward (709-705) we find Sargon himself mentioned as king of Babylon. The Elamites, who were now ruled by a new king, Sudar-nachundi (Istar-chundi), no longer dared to try conclusions with so mighty a man as Sargon.

Sargon's next act was to suppress a revolution which a certain Yaabi'di (also called Ibu-bi'di, Ya'u= Yahwe replaced by Ibu= El, "God") of Hamath had stirred up. Hamath was one of the few territories not yet incorporated in the Assyrian kingdom, and Ya'u-bi'di had succeeded in

overthrowing the king of Hamath and in inducing the Assyrian provinces of Arpad, Siryra, Damascus, and Samaria to revolt. Hanno of Gaza, whom we met with under Tiglath-pileser, and Sib' of Egypt, whom we also know already, had joined the revolution; in fact, the latter —as in the time of Hosha's revolt—may have been the real instigator of the whole rebellion, in which perhaps the 'far Judah' also participated. But the revolutionaries' plans were soon destroyed by Sargon's personal action. Ius-hi'di was defeated and taken prisoner at Karkar, and the Egyptian army scattered at Rapichu (Raphia), south of Gaza, in the year 720 B.C., Hanno also being captured.

We meet with a similar alliance between a Philistine town and Egypt in 711. The great Hebrew prophet Isaiah, who preached in the time of Uzziah (Azariah) and Jotham, but especially under Ahaz and Hezekiah, sent out his warning against Egypt and Ethiopia (Kush) in the year 'when Tartan, i.e. the general of the Assyrians, came to Ashdod at the bidding of Sargon, king of the Assyrians, and fought against Ashdod and took it' (Isaiah, chap. xx. v. 1, which is the only passage in the Old Testament mentioning Sargon by name, unless 'Jareb' in Hosea chap. x. v. 6 is to be understood as the familiar name of Sargon). We further gather from Sargon's inscriptions that a certain Yamani (also written 'Yatsi,' and possibly signifying 'Ionian' or 'Cyprian'), in the expectation of Egyptian assistance, overthrew Achomi, the king who had been appointed by Sargon over Ashdod, and that thenceupon the whole of Philistia, Judah (Ya'adu), Edom (Udum), and Moab (Ma'abu), who owed tribute to Asur, sent presents to 'Pharaoh of Egypt.' The Pharaoh mentioned here is either one of the minor princes of the Delta, or the Ethiopian Pharaoh Sabataki (716-705), the successor of Sabaka. Sargon now sent an army against Ashdod, on the approach of which Yamani fled to the king of Milach (North-west Arabia), who surrendered him to Sargon.

Meanwhile Ashdod and Gath were besieged, taken, and incorporated in Assyria.

In the same year, 711 B.C., the North Syrian State of Gurgum was made an Assyrian province, with Markasi as the seat of the governor. Carchemish, the refractory town which for centuries had opposed the Assyrians, having previously lost its independence (717). The neighbouring Kommisch (Commagene), in 708, also met a similar fate, whilst Sam'al became an Assyrian province, as it appears, already under Shalmaneser IV. Mita, chief of the Moskai, who had been an ally of Armenia, and who had continually stirred up the North Syrian States against Sargon, was defeated by the governor of Kai (Cilicia) in 709, and had to pay tribute to the Assyrians. In the same year seven kings of Cyprian towns sent presents, and that his influence actually extended to Cyprus is proved by the Sargon statue found on this island, and now preserved in the Museum at Berlin.

Sargon also undertook an expedition into the heart of North Arabia in the year 715, which appears to be in some connection with that against Gaza and Egypt in 720. On the news of the defeat of these 'Arabs of the distant desert, whom the Wise and Learned knew not,' the tribes of Thamud, Dukid, Marimun, and Chayappa (biblical, Ephah or Ghaisa), presents were immediately sent by the 'Pharaoh of Egypt' (probably Sabetaka), Sam'l, queen of Arabia, Ita'amar the Sabean, and by the kings of the sea-coast and desert,' amongst them 'sweet-smelling herbs of the mountains,' of course frankincense. It is remarkable that no mention is made, either here or in the time of Tiglath-pileser, among the various Arabian tribes, of the Minyans, whose inscriptions, from a paleographical point of view, are older than those of the Sabean kings, a circumstance which is a further confirmation that the period when the Minyan kingdom was in the zenith of its prosperity must be placed before that of the Sabaeans, and possibly at the same time as the Israelitic Judges. In all probability

at the instigation of his own son, Sargon, one of the most important figures in the history of the East, succumbed to the dagger of the assassin in the year 705.

Ahaz reigned in Judah until about 715 B.C. The statement in the Book of Kings that Hezekiah became king in the third year of Hoshea's reign, is in distinct contradiction with the passage which states that Ahaz, who is said to have reigned sixteen years, became king of Judah three years before Hoshea ascended the throne.

Ahaz was succeeded by his son Hezekiah, c. 715-686, whose reign is given at twenty-nine years, and in whose fourteenth year the expedition of Sennacherib against Jerusalem took place (701 B.C.). The above-mentioned presents of Judah sent to the Pharaoh of Egypt (711 B.C.), which Sargon replied to by the conquest of Ashdod and Gath, were probably sent by Hezekiah.

The life-work of the prophet Isaiah, principally under Ahaz and Hezekiah, is distinguished from that of his predecessors Amos and Hosea in that 'he did not stand apart from the Government like them, but sat at the helm of the ship aiding to direct her course.' It should here be observed that Isaiah chapters 40 to 66 are written by another Isaiah who prophesied in the time of the Exile.

With regard to the aqueduct of Hezekiah mentioned in 2 Kings, chap. xx. v. 30, the statement is said to refer to the Pool of Siloam, in which, in the year 1880, the oldest Hebrew inscription extant was discovered. Others say—and perhaps rightly so—that it was composed already in the time of Ahaz, as it does not refer to the aqueduct built by Hezekiah, but to the tunnel mentioned in Isaiah, chap. viii. v. 3, between the Spring of Marah and the Pool of Siloam. (Siloach itself means the 'letting-out of water'.)

The translation of the inscription runs as follows:—  
\*(Completed is) the piercing, and this was the manner of the piercing: when yet the pick-axes (had not met) one another, and when there were yet three ells to pierce, (one

beard) the voice of one calling to the other. For there was a space (?) in the rock from the south . . . and on the day of the piercing the navvies met each other, pick upon pick, then the waters from the outlet rushed into the pond twelve hundred ell wide, and one hundred ell was the height of the rock above the heads of the navvies.'

The letters are very similar to the ancient Canaanitic, but a little later than those of the Mea' inscription.

**S 30. Sennacherib and Hezekiah.**—On the twelfth of Ab (beginning of August) of the year 705 Sargon's son Sennacherib ascended the Assyrian throne (*Sin-achi-irba*, 704-681). The reading Sancherib is due to a wrong vocalisation of the Hebrew letters *s-a-ch-r-b*; it is more correct to read Sennacherib, LXX. Σεναχερίβ. It means "O God Sin, increase the brothers!"

The principal objects of the fortunate heir to so mighty a kingdom were clearly to confirm and perpetuate the humiliation of Judah and Egypt, and to completely incorporate Babylonia as a bulwark against the ever-assuming Elamites. He succeeded in both objects only in a very incomplete manner.

The Babylonian Chronicles discovered by Th. G. Pinches, extending from Nabonassar to the time when Samu-sum-ukin, the brother of Assur-bani-pal, ascended the throne, mention Sennacherib as king of Babylonia for the years 704 and 703. However, he did not allow himself to be crowned in Babylon, as was the sacred custom, and he thereby embittered the Babylonians at the very outset, so that the Ptolemaic Canon, which also goes back to Babylonian sources, enumerates these two years as "Kingless."

It was consequently an easy matter for the Chaldean Marduk-pal-iddina, Merodach-baladan, whom we know from the time of Sargon, to recover the Babylonian throne in 703, which he occupied for nine months, until he and his Elamite and Aramaic allies were defeated by Sennacherib, and a certain Bel-ibni appointed king in his place (702-700). The embassy of Merodach-baladan to Hezekiah, king of

Judah, which probably falls in the year 703, is mentioned in the Book of Kings (2 Kings, chap. xx. v. 12-19; also Isaiah, chap. xxxviii.) as a sequel to Sennacherib's expedition against Judah in 701.

After various vicissitudes, the sanguinary battle of Chalûl took place, which was unfavourable to Sennacherib, or at least undecided. It was against the allied Elamites, Babylonians, Armenians, Chaldeans, and several Median tribes. Finally, in the year 689, Sennacherib succeeded in taking the city of Babylon, on which he wreaked a terrible vengeance. It was razed to the ground. The Babylonian Chronicles, as well as the Ptolemaic Canon, record no king between the years 689-681 until the death of Sennacherib.

Sennacherib's great expedition in the year 701 against the West began by the punishment of Lâbî, Elshârû, king of Sidon, who fled to the sea, probably to Cyprus or to the Island of Tyre, which, according to Greek sources, was long and ineffectually besieged by the king of the Assyrians. In Sidon a new king, Tuba'al (Ethoboul), was appointed, and Sarepta, Accho, and other Phoenician towns given to him. Arrad and Gebal (Byblos), however, and the Philistine Ashdod, as well as the Judaic States of Ammon, Moab, and Edom, voluntarily brought tribute. But King Zedekiah of Ascalon, who did not follow their example, suffered for it, and was led away captive to Assyria, whilst Ascalon and the towns of Joppa, Beth-Dagon, and others were taken and plundered. The Philistine town of Amkarruna (Ekron), south of Joppa and north of Gath and Ashdod, had put its king Padi, who was devoted to the Assyrians, in chains, and delivered him up to King Hezekiah of Judah, and both, Ekron and Judah, had sent for help to the Egyptians and Arabians (Assyrian, 'the kings of Egypt, and the bowmen, chariots, and horses of the king of Miluch,' i.e. North-west Arabia!). At Eltekeh

<sup>1</sup> It is therefore certain that King Tishaka, or Taharka, or Assyrian Tarkî (2 Kings, chap. xxx. v. 9), is not meant, but several of the minor Delta-princes.

(Assyrian, *Altaku*), not far from Ekron, the united forces of the Egyptians and Arabians were defeated, and Eltekeh, Timnah (Tammâ), and Ekron taken.

The Assyrian records of Sennacherib state:—‘I brought Padi, their (Ekron’s) king, out of Jerusalem, placed him upon the throne over them, and imposed tribute upon him; but I besieged Hezekiah (Chazakkâ) of Judah, who would not submit, and took him and forty-six of his fortified towns and smaller places of their territory without number; 200,150 inhabitants, old and young, man and woman, horses, mules, asses, camels, oxen and flocks without number, I took away.’ On this plundering expedition Sennacherib penetrated into the most south-westerly corner of Judah, for into his encampment at Lachish (Assyrian, *Lakîm*) Hezekiah sent praying for mercy, which was granted him subject to a tribute of 300 talents of silver and thirty talents of gold.

The Assyrian inscription then continues:—‘Him (Hezekiah) I shut in, like a bird in a cage, in Jerusalem (Ursalimme) his residence. Bulwarks I raised against him, and whoever went out of the gate of his town, upon him I imposed tribute. The towns taken from him I separated from his land and gave them to Minati, king of Ashdod, Padi, king of Ekron, and Silli-bel, king of Gaza, and reduced his territory. In addition to the previous tribute, I imposed fresh taxes. He, however, Hezekiah, was humiliated by the fear of the splendour of my rule, and the Arabians and other tribes who were allied to him, and whom he had collected together to strengthen Jerusalem, were also overcome by fear. Thirty talents of gold, 800 talents of silver, precious stones, antimony (guchli=kohl?), takkasi, yangig-stones, ivory couches and chairs, elephant-skins, ivory, saks and orukim wood, treasures, costly raiment, violet and red purple material, vessels of bronze, iron, copper, and tin, chariots, shields, lances, armour, iron daggers, bows and arrows, spears, and other instruments of war, without number, his daughters and the women of his palace, singers, male and female, were brought to me.

to Nineveh, and he sent his ambassador to deliver the tribute and do homage.<sup>1</sup> It appears, therefore, that, notwithstanding the promise he gave in Lachish, he besieged Jerusalem, but was induced to retire again by the rich presents enumerated in the inscription, at com placent length, including the daughters and wives of Hezekiah.

In the last years of his reign, Sennacherib undertook yet another journey to Judah in order to march against Tsharks, king of Ethiopia, and on this occasion to besiege Jerusalem; but before he proceeded with the latter object, a plague, or, as Herodotus graphically calls it (ii. 141), a swarm of field-mice, fell upon the Assyrian army, compelling Sennacherib to return to Nineveh, without carrying out his purpose, where, soon after, without undertaking any further expedition (2 Kings, chap. 19, v. 36), he was murdered by his own son (according to the Bible, by his two sons Adrammelech and Shar-ezer), on the 20th Tebet, 681, or the middle of January, 680.

§ 31. Esarhaddon and Assur-bani-pal.—Esarhaddon (Assyrian, *Asser-acha-idinā*, 'God Asser, grant a brother'), 680-668 B.C., had already been designated by his father as his successor, in preference to his other sons. He heard of the murder of Sennacherib whilst he was in command of an army in the west of Armenia. In forced marches he set out for Nineveh, and on the way defeated the troops of his rebellious brother who opposed him. Although, during his reign, which only lasted twelve years, the Assyrians were in great danger on the north-east from the incursion, in 679 B.C., of the united Cimmerians and Medians, his rule may, nevertheless, be termed a happy one and fraught with great blessings for Babylon. Indeed, Esarhaddon was the first king of the Assyrians who could assume the title of king of Assyria, Babylonia, and Egypt, and thus make up for the defeat which Sennacherib had suffered at the hands of Egypt. Esarhaddon devoted his first energies to Babylon, which had been so cruelly destroyed by Sennacherib, and which he rebuilt with greater splendour than before.

The incursion of the Cimmerians in 678 was a very serious matter to the Assyrians. These Iranian hordes had come from the south of Russia, across the Caucasus and through Armenia. They allied themselves to the kindred Mannans and Medes, and threatened to overthrow the kingdom of Assyria, which was already very much weakened in the east.

Tiupsa, a Mannan, and a certain Kasarit of Karkash, appear to have been the chief leaders. Esarhaddon succeeded by energetic action in diverting the principal body of foreigners to Asia Minor, but he could not prevent Tiupsa (Telsper) from founding a small kingdom in Parusa, a province which, since the time of Sennacherib, had been lost to the Assyrians, and from which, later on, the Elamitic-Anzian kingdom of Cyrus and the kingdom of the Persians were to branch off. Possibly in Kasarit we ought to recognise Cyaxares, the Median king of the later legends (see p. 132).

According to Berossus, Esarhaddon is said, in the first instance, to have levied Greek mercenaries in Cilicia, which may be connected with the visitation of the Cimmerians. Indeed, Esarhaddon also waged war in Chilikku, that portion of Cilicia which is on the boundary of Tabal, and took many cities. But the principal conquests of Esarhaddon were in the West-land and in Egypt. After having in the year 678 B.C. conquered and beheaded Abdi-Milkut, king of Sidon, and besieged King Ba'd in Tyre, he made two expeditions in 673 and 670 against the Pharaoh Tirhaka, on this occasion advancing into Egypt itself, whither no Assyrian king before him had yet penetrated. In Memphis (Mimpi) an Assyrian vassal-king, named Necho, was appointed, and the Assyrian army advanced to Thebes, Ni', the biblical No Amon, so that Tirhaka was forced to retire to his Nubian home. As a consequence, Esarhaddon was able to add to his other titles that of King of the Kings of Mysia, i.e. the district princes of Lower Egypt, of Parusa, Upper Egypt, and Kus, Nubia. Esar-

Esarhaddon also penetrated with success twice into the interior of Arabia. A comprehensive survey of the vassal-kings who paid tribute to Esarhaddon in the West land is afforded by a list of the princes who had to supply him with building material; these include, in addition to the first-named kings Basal of Tyre and Manasseh (Minnasi) of Judah, also the kings of Edom, Moab, Gaza, Ascalon, Ekron, Gebal, Arvad, Sami-muruna, Ammon, Ashdod, as well as the princes of ten Cyprian towns, amongst them Ituandar (Eteandros) of Pappa (Paphos) and Damles of Kartachadast (New Town), i.e. a Cyprian Carthage, probably = Kition. The same twenty-two kings paid homage to Esarhaddon's successor, Assur-bani-pal, on the occasion of the latter's first Egyptian expedition in 667 B.C. The king Manasseh of Judah is called by Esarhaddon Minasi, and by Assur-bani-pal Minasi. Concerning him, it is related in 2 Chronicles, chap. xxxiii. v. 11 (which is later than the Book of Kings), that 'the captains of the king of Assyria caught Manasseh with hooks, chained him with chains, and carried him off to Babylon.' This statement can only refer to Esarhaddon, whose favourite residence was in Babylon.

Esarhaddon was on the point of making his third expedition against Egypt in 668, when he died and was succeeded in Assyria, at his express wish, by his eldest son Assur-bani-pal, the Sardanapalus of the Greeks, and Assupper of the Bible (Exrs, chap. iv. v. 10), from 667 to 626 B.C., whilst in Babylonia his brother Samsu-ram-ukin reigned from 667 to 648. Assur-bani-pal, the last of the great Sargonids, had been brought up in early youth in the arts and sciences of the Babylonians, and it is to his literary pursuits that we must ascribe the numerous fragments of ancient Babylonian literature which we possess in new Assyrian copies; for the many thousands of clay tablets which are preserved in the British Museum are derived from his library. At the same time, he was an oriental despot in the full sense of the word, who occupied his

generals and his armies in the provinces and in the confines of his kingdom, whilst he remained at home in the luxury of his harem, his scientific studies, and the worship of his gods. Assur-bani-pal's first undertaking was to continue the war against Egypt, which had been interrupted by the death of Esarhaddon, Taharka having meanwhile again occupied Memphis. This was in the year 667, or perhaps 668. Taharka was defeated and pursued as far as Thebes, whence he again fled to Ethiopia. The princes of the Delta were again established as vassals of Assyria. Some of them, for instance, Necho of Sais, attempted to throw off the Assyrian yoke and recall Taharka, but, in the end, were compelled to come to Nineveh in chains. There Necho found favour in the eyes of Assur-bani-pal and received Sais as a grant. Meanwhile Taharka had died, and Thebes and On (Heliopolis) in Lower Egypt had been reconquered by his nephew and successor Urdamani (Egyptian, Tanut Amon), the son of Sabaka. The army of Assur-bani-pal set out for Egypt for the second time against him. On this occasion the Ethiopians were permanently driven out, and Psamtik (in Egyptian Psamtik), the son of Necho, was confirmed in his position as Assyrian vassal-king in Memphis and Sais. Shortly afterwards Psamtik made himself independent with the help of Ionian and Carian troops sent to him by Gyges, king of the Lydians. We also hear of Gyges or Guggo, the king of the far-distant Lydians, through Assur-bani-pal, who boasts how Gyges, thanks to his prayers to the gods, had defeated the Cimmerians, who were pushing him hard and had spread from Cappadocia over the west of Asia Minor (657 B.C.), and how as a punishment for having made an alliance with Psamtik he had been murdered by the Cimmerians.

The Lydian Dynasty of the Mermades begins with Gyges, who had caused Candaules, the last king of the Heraclids, to be murdered. This half-mythical Dynasty of the Heraclids was also called the Dynasty of the Sandanides after Sandan, a god of Asia Minor, who, as

well as the Phoenician Melkart, was identified with Heracles, in the same way that their doubles the Atyads were called after the god Ates (Gates; compare the second element Gatis in the name of the goddess Atargatis, i.e. Astarte of Ates). Ardyas, the son of Gyges, drove the Cimmerians out of Lydia, whence they turned to Ionia, and Ardyas later conquered the whole of Asia Minor as far as the Halys.

It was in the time of the first kings of the Merimnade that an incident happened which reformed the entire system of commerce. This was the coining of the first money. It should, however, be borne in mind that the first idea must have been derived from Babylon and Assyria, for already in the time of the ancient Babylonian king Chamus-rapaltu the Babylonians had, as the tablets tell us, a complete system of coinage, a talent, a mina, a shekel and parts of a shekel, all on the basis of a sexagesimal system; and that there really was money in the form of rings and otherwise, bearing an official stamp, is proved by the words "sealed, i.e. coined money," in ancient Babylonian correspondence.

The strength of the Assyrian kingdom in the time of Assur-bani-pal had been consumed in warfare with the Babylonians and the Elamites. After the Elamite king Untaki (674 to c. 655) under Esarhaddon, and for a long time under Assur-bani-pal, had lived in peace with Assyria, he suddenly made an incursion into Babylonia, where Assur-bani-pal's brother Samsu-sum-ukin was nominal king, but he was defeated by Assur-bani-pal and died soon after. His death caused the Assyrians to take more serious measures. Untaki's brother Ti-unman had endeavoured to overthrow the legitimate heir to the throne, who fled to Assur-bani-pal. When the latter refused to surrender him, Ti-unman crossed the frontier, but was repulsed by the king of the Assyrians and pursued as far as Susa, taken prisoner and beheaded, whilst Chumbenigas or Um-manigas was proclaimed king of Elam, as the second of his name. Naturally it annoyed Samsu-sum-ukin that in these complications, which in the first instance only affected Babylonia,

his brother should pose as lord and protector of the latter country, and he determined to free himself from this guardianship. He therefore endeavoured to stir up all the dissatisfied elements in the whole of the Assyrian kingdom against Assur-bani-pal; in the first place, of course, the Elamite king Ummannigas, the Babylonian Chaldaeans and Arameans, then the territories lying to the east of Babylonia towards Media, Syria and Palestine, and finally, the north-west of Arabia (Milech), c. 650 B.C. But the plans which had been so carefully laid failed. In Elam, Ummannigas was overthrown by his brother Tammurit. In the West-land only Uru (Palai-Tyros?) and Acco had revolted, and they were well punished for it afterwards, whilst only a few Arabian tribes hastened to the assistance of the Babylonians. Samsas-sar-ukin was now obliged to confess himself beaten, and in despair threw himself into the flames, 648 B.C. Assur-bani-pal, having now become also king of Babylonia, wreaked a terrible vengeance on his brother's allies, firstly on the Elamites, and then on the Arab chiefs. The Elamites had proclaimed Ummen-alda (Chumban-chakdas), son of Asurrit, as their king; Assur-bani-pal re-instated Tammurit, who had hitherto found no asylum with him. But when Tammurit had endeavoured to throw off the oppressive Assyrian yoke, he was defeated by Assur-bani-pal. Shortly after we again find Ummen-alda as king of Elam, and a last decisive expedition was undertaken against him. The towns of Madakro, Chaltissa, and Susa fell into the hands of the Assyrians, and were razed to the ground c. 640 B.C., on which occasion Assur-bani-pal fetched back with great pomp the statue of Ishtar, which sixteen hundred and thirty-five years previously had been stolen from Erach by Kudur-nanchundi. The mighty Elamitic kingdom, which ever since the earliest days of history had been the most dangerous rival of the Sumerians, Semitic Babylonians, and after them of the Assyrians, was at last overthrown.

Assyria now was all the more helpless against the various

Mannaeo-Median territories between Armenia and Elam. One revolution followed the other. The storm which was now brewing could only be delayed a few decades by certain expeditions against the Mannaeo king Achair, and against a Mede Biris-chadri, and the son of Gag of Sachi (compare Ezekiel, chaps. xxxvii. and xxix., *Gag of Magg*, i.e. of the land of Gog, and for Sachi the name Sacri). An inscription has been preserved containing an invocation of Assur-bani-pal to Merodach, the local god of Babylon. In it there are obscure references to the attacks which were made upon Assyria by the king of the Manda borders, whose name was Tagdammii (a name which reminds us of Lygdamis, the Cimmerian chief in Western Asia Minor, who marched against Lydia), and by his son Sandakshatra. In the face of this we need not attribute much importance to the assurances of friendship which Assur-bani-pal received from Ursu n. and his successor Sarduri II., kings of Armenia, who by that time had lost much of their power.

We have already referred to Manasseh, who was king in Judah at the time of Esarhaddon and Assur-bani-pal; he was followed c. 640 by his son Amos, who only reigned two years; then came the latter's son Josiah from 639 to 609, in the thirteenth year of whose reign the prophet Jeremiah began to prophecy (see end of next paragraph).

In Egypt, Psamtik, whom we have mentioned before, or Psammetichus I., whose name points to Libyan origin, was king from c. 663 to 610. The Twenty-sixth, or Saïtic Dynasty, begins with Psamtik I. He conquered the Philistine town Ashdod, as Herodotus reports, after a siege of twenty-nine years, with the help of his foreign, Grecian, Phoenician, and Syrian mercenaries, after he had freed himself from Assyrian suzerainty. Thenceforward the Greeks were permanently connected with the Egyptians.

**S. 32. The Fall of Nineveh.**—Assur-bani-pal was succeeded by his son Assur-ibil-dani, or with his full name, Assur-ibil-dani-sin, who reigned at least four years, perhaps still longer (therefore from 625 to x), and he was

probably immediately followed by the last of the Assyrian kings, Sin-sar-iskun, the Sarakos of Greek tradition. But in view of the defective and frequently contradictory records, the order may just as well be reversed, in which case Sarakos (Assur-ukin?) may have been a younger son of Assur-bani-pal, and the successor of his elder brother Sin-sar-iskun. When Sin-sar-iskun, in his inscription, which is unfortunately very much injured, mentions on several occasions, in general expressions, the defeat of his enemies, he must certainly refer to the incursions of the Medes, which the very uncertain traditions of the Greeks connect with the name of the Median king Cyaxares, or perhaps to the Scythian Sacae, who overran Higher Asia at this period, and whom we saw, as the sons of Gog, lurking on the boundaries of the Assyrian kingdom already in the time of Assur-bani-pal. For twenty-eight years, according to Herodotus, they are said to have ravaged Syria and Asia Minor. They even overran Palestine, as is clearly shown in the prophecy of Jeremiah, which dates from the year 626, chap. v. v. 15, and Joel, chap. iii. v. 2. The picture of the future described in the vision of Ezekiel, chap. xxxviii., in the year 585, makes distinct reference to past incursions of the sons of Gog, whose reappearance was threatened by the prophet, and who, coming from the extreme north, were allied with Rosh (near Elam), Meabech, Tabal, and Togarmah (Til-garimmu, near Miled; all three in the east of Asia Minor), Parah (Paras), and Lud.

For Babylonia, the Ptolemaic Canon fixes the reign of Nabopolassar, Nabi-pal-assar, from 625 to 605.

Nabopolassar certainly must have been a Chaldean who knew the weakness of Assyria, and easily succeeded in seizing Babylon and having himself crowned king of Babylonia. His own inscriptions, unfortunately, only refer to buildings in Sippar and Babylon, but in one of them, in which, in addition to king of Babylon, he also styles himself king of Sumir and Akkad, we should note the expressions 'him, to whom the god of War has vouchsafed victory,' and

'whose deeds excel those of the kings his fathers.' Possibly he was the son of Kandalou. Later traditions regard him as a general of Sarakos, who was sent to oppose the Scythians who were invading Assyria, but who took the opportunity of revolting and making himself independent.

In Egypt, Psamtik I. was succeeded by his son, Necho II., 609-595 B.C., who immediately on ascending the throne took possession of Palestine and Syria as far as Hamath, without so much as an attempt being made on the part of the Assyrians to prevent it. However, Josiah, the king of the Judaeans, opposed the Egyptians, but was killed near the fortress of Megiddo on the Egyptian-Palestinian boundary in battle in 609 B.C. Megiddo, which occurs in *2 Kings*, chap. xxiii. v. 29, is a clerical error for Migdol, an assumption which the circumstances and Herodotus's *Mardonius* seem to demand. Necho, from his encampment at Riblah, near Hamath, deposed Josiah's son Jehoahaz, and made his brother Jehoiakim king in his stead, 608-598.

Meanwhile fate was overtaking Nineveh. Nabopolassar had joined the Medes in besieging the capital of so much ancient pride. The siege began just when Necho was advancing against Carchemish and had pitched his camp on the Orontes. After a two years' siege, the city fell into the hands of the enemy in the year 606 B.C., and they at once proceeded to divide the ruins of the once mighty empire of the Assyrians. Assyria itself fell to the share of the Medes, who already possessed the former eastern provinces. Nabopolassar received Mesopotamia and the West-land, which, however, he first of all had to wrest from Pharaoh Necho. In view of the various traditions, it cannot be stated with certainty who was the Median prince in conjunction with whom Nabopolassar conquered Nineveh. According to Herodotus, it was Cyaxares; Berossus says it was the Manda Prince Amyages, who, however, in cuneiform writings, is only met with fifty years later; whilst according to Ctesias it was Arbaces. Whatever it may have been, one thing is certain, Nineveh was destroyed,

entirely razed to the ground, and disappeared from history without leaving a trace, until in our times the figures of her kings rise from the grave of their pristine splendour and tell us of their conquests and victories, their glory and their cruelty, in their very own words. The whole of Higher Asia, however, began to breathe the air of freedom when the strongholds of her oppressors were once and for ever overthrown.

One important incident of Josiah's reign has yet to be chronicled, namely, the finding of the *Book of the Law*, which in the last few centuries had been quite forgotten. It was discovered on the occasion of some repairs being made to the Temple by the High-priest Hilkiah in the eighteenth year of Josiah, i.e. in 621 B.C. It is usually assumed to have been only that portion of the books of Moses which contains the repetition of the Law by Moses in the land of Moab at the end of the forty years' wandering in the wilderness, the so-called Deuteronomy or the fifth book of Moses, chaps. iv.-xxviii.

## CHAPTER VIII

### *The New Babylonian Kingdom and its Destruction by the Persians.*

§ 33. Nebuchadnezzar II. and the destruction of Jerusalem.—Whilst Nebuchadnezzar (Nabu-kudurri-usur, 'Nebo, protect my crown') was waging war at the request of his father Nabopolassar with Necho II., and defeating the latter at Carchemish in 605 B.C., Nabopolassar died; and thus Nebuchadnezzar, the Chaldean, by his very first deed became the founder of the New Babylonian Kingdom. In the course of his reign, which lasted forty-four years (604-562), he transformed Babylonia into a Great Power, on an equal footing with her Assyrian predecessor, and by his monumental edifices made its capital one of the most magnificent cities of antiquity. His numerous and voluminous inscriptions describe in full detail his temples, palaces, and fortresses, whilst his military expeditions are only touched upon in general and comprehensive terms.

When Nebuchadnezzar had completely annexed Syria to Babylon, and imposed tribute upon King Jehoiakim of Judah, who had been appointed formerly by Necho, it suddenly occurred to Jehoiakim to refuse to pay the tribute. Thereupon Nebuchadnezzar advanced against Judah; but during the same year, 607, Jehoiakim died, and his son and successor Jehoachin, who only reigned three months, was deported, together with his family and many of his subjects, to Babylon, where they were allowed to settle in quiet. In Jerusalem, his relative Mattaniah was appointed Babylonian vassal-king under the name of Zedekiah, 597-587. Egypt,

however, where Necho II. had been succeeded by Psamtik II., 594-589, and the latter in 589 by the warlike Hophra (Ua-chab-re, Greek Apries, 588-569), was continually endeavouring to stir up the Palestinian states against Babylonia.

Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre, and Sidon, as well as Judah, allowed themselves to be persuaded, and their decision was replied to by a two years' siege of Jerusalem, the destruction of the Holy City, the deportation and blinding of the unfortunate Zedekiah, and the incorporation of Judah in the Babylonian kingdom, in 587 B.C. This was the beginning of the period of the Babylonian exile, terminating with Cyrus, which was so important for Israel's inner development to later Judaism (586 to 537 B.C.).

As it happened to Judah, so it must have happened to other states which, trusting in Egypt, refused to pay tribute. Tyre alone, notwithstanding a siege of thirteen years, could not be taken, but only forced to resume the former payments of tribute. Pharaoh Hophra would not risk making another attack after the repulse by Nebuchadnezzar of the army which he had sent to the besieged Judeans. It was not until the thirty-seventh year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar 568 B.C. that, as a fragment of a record narrates, a further expedition of the Babylonians was undertaken against Egypt and against Amasis (568 to 525), who had overthrown Hophra. Some inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar found in the vicinity of Suez, which however in a characteristic manner only deal with the temples which he built in the city of Babylon, give us information of a temporary occupation of some portions of the Nile Delta. Jeremiah, chaps. xxviii.-xxix., mentions a war against the Arabians of Kedar, a reminiscence of which is also preserved in the later Arabian traditions of Bachtassar, the great conqueror.

In Lydia at the time of Nebuchadnezzar Alyattes reigned from 617 to 560. He was the son of Solyntes, who was the son of Ardyz. In Media, according to Greek traditions,

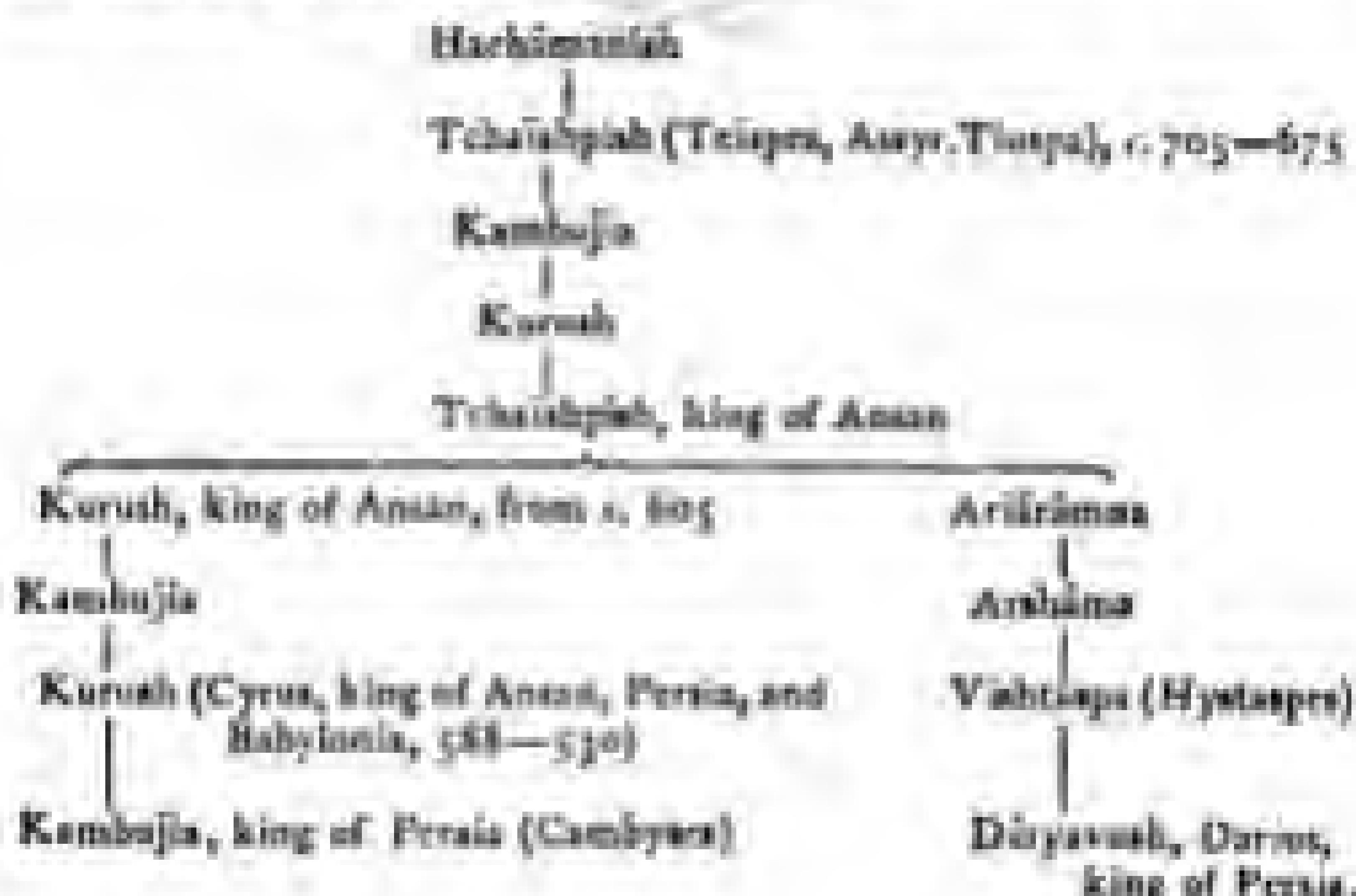
Cyaxares, the father of Astyages, was king from 624 to 584. As the later reign cannot be entirely imaginary, and as Astyages is authenticated in cuneiform writings as 'Istarigu, king of the Manda hordes,' it follows that Tugdalu, the king of the Manda hordes mentioned previously under Assurbanipal, whose son was Sanda-Kshatra, must have been a predecessor of Astyages; and further, that this Sanda-Kshatra was, at least in the part he played, the Cyaxares of Herodotus. Now this Sanda-Kshatra-Cyaxares may well be regarded as the real founder of the Median empire; he helped to conquer Nineveh, and he it must have been who founded Ecbatana (Agamana, Hebrew Achmata), or who at least selected it as the Median capital. He brought the various tribes of the Mannians and Medes under his dominion, conquered probably both Armenia and Cappadocia, and gradually gained such influence that Nebuchadnezzar married Amytis, the daughter of the Median king, and thus recognised the Medes as equals. A five years' war was brought about between the Medes and the Lydians about the year 590 by the flight of some Scythians who had been in the service of Cyaxares to Alyattes in Lydia. On the river Halys, the modern Küzil-Irmak, a imaginary battle took place in the year 585, which would have either retarded the further advance of the Medes towards the west, or have driven them out of Asia Minor, had not the sudden eclipse of the sun on the 28th May of that year, which had been previously calculated by the astronomer Thales, so terrified the two armies, that they immediately concluded an armistice. Through the mediation of Sennacherib (a Hittite title like Pharaoh) of Cilicia and of Nebuchadnezzar a treaty of peace was made, according to which the river Halys was to form the boundary between Lydia and the Median kingdom; and to strengthen the same, Astyages, the son of Cyaxares, married Aryenis, the daughter of Alyattes.

In Elam, where in the year 597 Jeremiah (chap. xlvi. v. 35-39) still knows of native kings, whilst in 585 Ezekiel (chap. xxxii. v. 24) enumerates the Elamites amongst

the inhabitants of the realm of shadow, a North Semitic dynasty, related to the Indo-Germanic Medes, had forced its way to the throne in the interval between the two above-mentioned dates. This was the Anzan Dynasty, called so after its territory Anzan, situated between Media and Elam, which in older times had been invaded by the Sumerian prince Gudea. If this name is of Sumerian origin, it can only signify 'Land of the Asses,' by which, however, the 'Asses of the Kassas,' as the Sumerians called horses, may be meant. As in Babylonian *susa* means a horse (Hebrew *shos*), Susa may be so called after the animal; and then 'paras,' the other Semitic name for horse, will have given its name to the Median province of Parasus.

The original home of the kings of Anzan, of whom the last and most renowned was the mighty Cyrus, was however Media, from which, under Esarhaddon, Tispses, the son of Achæmenes, attacked the Assyrians.

A comparison of the genealogical statements of Herodotus (Book vii. 11), with the Behistun inscription of Darius, and with the Cyrus inscription, yields as a result the following tree:—



Darius, in his inscription, referring to himself, says:—<sup>1</sup> Eight in the midst of my family succeeded kindly dominions before me, I am the ninth, in two years (duvidtarrau) we are nine kings."

These kings who came from Media gradually spread their power over the whole of Elam, and the name Parsi was consequently applied to the later province of Persia, south of Elam. They apparently lived in peace with Nebuchadnezzar, and were allied to the kindred Medes, as the mother of Cyrus is said to have been a daughter of Astyages, and granddaughter of Cyaxares. This explains why the terms Medes and Persians were almost identical in the eyes of the Greeks and Jews.

Under Pharaoh Necho II., 609-595, Egypt enjoyed an important measure of prosperity in trade and commerce. Necho began to build a canal from the Nile to the Red Sea. The same bold attempt had already been made in the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty. By his orders the first circumnavigation of the southern point of Africa took place by Phoenician ships. He also built a large navy, and Egypt became a maritime power, whilst hitherto the empire of the Pharaohs had only possessed trading vessels. Altogether, great prosperity reigned in Egypt under the whole Twenty-sixth Dynasty during the fifty-four years of Psamtik I. and the government of his successors down to Amasis. The latter even gained dominion over Cyprus. He opened up friendly relations with Cyrene and gave the Greeks Naucratis, on the Canopian arm of the Nile, a separate town which soon became a large trading station.

**§ 34. Babylon taken by Cyrus.**—Under the incapable successors of the renowned founder of the New Babylonian Kingdom, the latter gradually broke up after only a few years, and became a comparatively easy spoil of the Arian Prince Kurush of Ansan in the year 539 B.C. Nebuchadnezzar was succeeded by his son Evil-Merodach (2 Kings, chap. xxv, v. 27, Babyl. Amil-Maruduk) from 561 to 560, who released the unfortunate Jehoiachin from his dungeon. Evil-Merodach, however, after a two years'

reign, was overthrown by his brother-in-law Neriglissar (Nergal-sar-uṣur, 599-556 B.C.). This was, doubtless, one of the two high officers of Nebuchadnezzar of the name of Nergal-sharrer who are mentioned in Jeremiah, chap. xxxix, v. 3, and was of a good age when he overthrew Evil-Merodach. In 556 he was succeeded by his son Laban-Marduk, who was immediately deposed in 555 by the last King Nabonid (Babyl. Nabu-na'id), the son of a certain Nabu-balatsu-ikbi. Nabonid, 555-539 B.C., appears to have been a great friend of antiquarian research rather than an energetic ruler. He rebuilt a number of very ancient temples in Sippar, Larsa, Ur, and other Babylonian towns, and always caused careful inquiries to be made as to the details of the original founders and renovators, but he kept away even in times of the greatest danger from the capital, where his son Belshazzar governed as his viceroy.

At the very commencement of his reign, i.e. according to Babylonian computation, in the year 556 B.C. (555 is his first official year), Nabu-na'id resolved to rebuild the ancient sacred temple of Sin in Harran, which had been destroyed by the Manda hordes, who shortly before had invaded Mesopotamia. But he could not carry out his intention for three years, about 553, when Isauiga, king of the Manda hordes—the Median king Astyages—fell into the hands of Cyrus (Korush), king of Anšan, his own army having revolted and delivered him up to the king of Anšan, who now styled himself king of Persia.

As Cyrus had vanquished the Medes, Nabonid was able to proceed with the rebuilding of his temple. He called upon his 'far-distant subjects from Gaza on the Egyptian boundary and from the Gulf of Issos on the other side of the Euphrates to the Persian Gulf,' to complete this pious work in a fitting manner.

In the year 547, Kroisos (Cresus), king of Lydia, 560-546 B.C., son and successor of Alyattes, allied himself to Nabonid against Cyrus. Amasis of Egypt also joined the federation, and a war broke out in the following

spring, which terminated in a complete defeat of the Lydians.

In the autumn of 546 Sardes fell; and Croesus, who, according to Herodotus, attempted to throw himself into the flames, was pardoned by Cyrus and presented with a Median town. Cyrus had now become ruler over almost the whole of Asia Minor. His next intention was to punish Nabonid for having joined Croesus, and to wrest Babylon, which he still required to complete his dominion of the world, and its Syro-Palestinian provinces from the king, who was already dilited by his own subjects. But it took another seven years before Cyrus was able to carry out his plans. Certainly, we do not know whether meanwhile he had not waged war against the more outlying Babylonian provinces and taken them away from Nabonid. Where a larger fragment of the second part of the Babylonian Chronicles gives us more precise information concerning the year 539, we find Nabonid already deprived of a portion of Babylonia, and the king of the Persians with an army in the north of that country. Nabonid brought all the statues of the gods of the various temples which he had rebuilt to the capital to save them from destruction at the hands of the enemy. When Nabonid's army had been defeated between Opis and Sippar by Cyrus in the month of Tammuz, the gates of the capital, which Nebuchadnezzar had surrounded with almost impregnable fortifications, opened voluntarily to the Persians. 'On the 16th of Tammuz, Ugbaru (or Gabaru, *i.e.* Gobryas), Governor of Guti (east of Babylonia), and the soldiers of Kusa entered Babylon without striking a blow.' Nabonid was taken prisoner and pardoned; and on the 3rd of Marcheshvan, four months later, Cyrus held his entry into Babylon, proclaiming peace to it.

There is another remarkable statement in the Babylonian Chronicles to the effect that on the night of the 17th Marcheshvan (*i.e.* eight days after Cyrus held his solemn entry), Gobryas caused the son of the king, whose name,

according to an inscription of Nabonid, was Bel-sar-asur (the Belshazzar of the Book of Daniel, chap. v.), to be put to death. The writing on the wall mentioned in the Book of Daniel, 'Mese, Mene, Tekel, Upharsin,' signifies 'A mina and yet another mina and a shekel (one-sixtieth of a mina) and two half-minae.' The repetition of 'mina' refers to Nebuchadnezzar; the following shekel—which is one-sixtieth mina—to Belshazzar, the representative of Nabonid; and finally, the two half-minae to the Medes and Persians in the person of Cyrus jointly dividing the kingdom.

In the Talmud, which developed on Babylonian soil, we very frequently find a man in the full possession of all the virtues compared with an entire mina ('mina, son of a mina'), and one who lacks some of these qualities to 'half a mina' ('mina, son of a half-mina'), or a fraction of a mina.

Thus Cyrus, a prince of Indo-Germanic origin, and king of the Persians, soon finding a place in the hearts of his new subjects, held the inheritance of the Assyrian-Babylonian empire of the world (Cyrus, 558-530 B.C.; as king of Babylonia, 538-530).

The boundaries of his vast territory already reached as far as the Isles of Greece in the west, and the ancient Land of the Pharaohs in the south. It only appeared to be a question of time when it should also include these two countries, Greece and Egypt. The latter fell to the share of his son Cambyses (529-522) after a short war in 525 with Psamtik III., son of Amasis, on which occasion, Herodotus relates, the Arabians provided water for the Persians on their road through the desert between Gaza and Egypt.

Both Darius (Daryavush, 521-486 B.C.) and his son Xerxes (Khshayarshah, 485-465) failed in their attempt to conquer Greece; and the 'Early History of the East' duly terminates with Cyrus and Cambyses, who brought about the end of the political independence of the great civilised states of Oriental antiquity.

Under the mild rule of Cyrus the day came about

when those Jews who had remained faithful to their ancient home could make the return for which they were yearning.

As Jeremiah had been the prophet during the last decades of the Judaean kingdom, and the singer of deeply-moving lamentations at the destruction of Jerusalem ; and as Ezekiel (Ezechiel, Hebrew Yechezke-el) had been the consoler of Israel in the first twenty-seven years of the exile, so also the second Isaiah (Isa. chaps. xl.-lxvi.) was the prophet of the last years of the exile, and praised Cyrus as the hero sent by God who spake : " My shepherd<sup>1</sup> is he, and he shall perform all My pleasure : even saying of Jerusalem, She shall be rebuilt ; and to the temple, Thy foundation shall stand " (Isa. chap. xlii. v. 28).

And the following chapter begins with the words : " Thus saith the Lord to His Anointed, to Koresh, whose right hand I have bidden to tread down nations before him, and to ungird the hips of kings, that the doors shall open before him, and the gates not remain closed. I will go before thee." Cyrus must have behaved towards the Babylonian priests of Marduk in a similar manner, as we may gather from the Cyrus-cylinder written in Babylonian, otherwise it could scarcely say : " Since I entered Babylon in my condescension, and took my royal seat in the palace of the princes amidst gladness and shouting, Merodach, the great Lord, turned the noble hearts of the inhabitants of Babylon towards me whilst I was daily anxious to serve him ; I sympathised sincerely with the troubles of Babylon and all her towns, I stayed her sighing, and released her from trouble."

One section of the Jews, amongst them Ezra the scribe, under whom the canon of the sacred books of the Old Testament was finally completed, did not return to Palestine till a hundred years later, in 458, under Xerxes' son

<sup>1</sup> In Kassitic " kurat " means " shepherd " ; the original Persian name of Cyrus was, according to Strabo, Agradares. Jewish here plays on the meaning of the name Cyrus, Hebrew Koresh.

Artaxerxes I. (465-424 B.C.), as is fully narrated, and may be read in the Books of Ezra (chap. vii. et seq.) and Nehemiah.<sup>1</sup>

As is distinctly testified in the twenty-first letter of Themistocles to Tereusides, Darius, the father of Xerxes, was the first to use the so-called Persian cuneiform writing on his monuments in the tri-lingual texts of the Achaemenids, and it is all probability that writing was only invented in his time in order to secure an easier and more alphabetical system as opposed to the more complicated Babyl.-Assyrian cuneiform writing.

The inscriptions of Darius and Xerxes, which gave the first impulse to the interpretation of cuneiform, contain the first mention of the Ahura-mazda religion. Ahura-mazda (Ormuzd) is the 'greatest of the gods, who created this earth, this heaven and mankind, and granted them grace.' Next to him, there are other gods of Light; for instance, the goddess Anabit of Elamite origin (Nachuni), the Sun-god Mithra, and others. Opposed to the good gods are the evil powers, with Aangra-mazyu (Ahriman) at their head. This Persian religion, which regards Light and Fire as the purest emblems of the Good, is only known to us in detail from the Zend Books, which were drawn up in post-Christian times (the period of the Sasanids). Their author Zarathushtra (Zoroaster) lived, according to Persian traditions, in the time of King Gozasp, i.e. Vishtaspa (Hystaspes), the father of Darius.

That the rise and development of this religion was subject to Babylonian, Jewish, and, later on, even Christian influences, is quite possible, although it has not yet been proved as a fact.

A remarkable example of the manner in which at this period new religious thoughts emerged into light, is afforded by the rise of Buddhism, which forms the real

<sup>1</sup> It should here be remarked that two books—Daniel and the so-called 'Chronicles'—which were added after Ezra are correctly placed in the Hebrew Bible at the end.

beginning of Indian history. According to the most probable traditions, Buddha lived and laboured from about 557 to 477. As after the quelling of the great Revolution that arose at the death of Cambyses, and after several victorious expeditions in the East, Darius ruled from the Hellespont to the Indus, i.e. as far as the boundaries of India (521-486), it is not uninteresting to refer here to the rise of Buddhism, especially as it is now a matter of certainty that already in pre-Christian ages it carried on its propaganda as far as Syria.

The circumstance that, in one and the same century, three great religions—Judaism proper, a creation of the Babylonian Exile, Zoroastrianism, and Buddhism in the Far East—have arisen independently of one another, is the best confirmation of the recent utterance that, from the establishment of the Persian Empire onwards, the history of the further development of the East, so far as it is of a spontaneous nature, lies almost exclusively within the sphere of religion.

Softly and gradually, the first dawn of day begins to appear in different parts of the great Universe, the light of early morn shines clearly in the incomparably beautiful words and visions of Isaiah in exile, and five centuries later Christianity towers victorious over the clouds of Eastern Idolatry.

## APPENDIX

It is well known that the Babyl.-Assyrian names of the months, as they appear since the time of Chammu-rapaltu in deeds of sale and purchase, executed in double form (mostly Sumerian, but here and there in Semitic), were taken over by the Jews in their Babylonian Exile, and have so remained in use down to the present day, as may be seen in any Jewish Almanac. We append the Semitic names, as the Sumerian terms even in the time of Chammu-rapaltu and his contemporary Abraham were only employed as Ideograms, i.e. only in writing, but not in reading:—

|   |                      |
|---|----------------------|
| 1. Nisanu, Nisan, began about 22st March, i.e. March-April. |                      |
| 2. Iyyaru, Iyyar  | = April-May.         |
| 3. Siwanu, Siwan  | = May-June.          |
| 4. Dumuzu, Tamuz or Dhu                                     | = June-July.         |
| 5. Abu, Ab  | = July-August.       |
| 6. Ululu, Elul  | = August-September.  |
| 7. Tashritu, Tishri   | = September-October. |
| 8. Arach-simnu, Mardcheshwan<br>(properly Warcho-simnu)     | = October-November.  |
| 9. Kislevu, Kislev  | = November-December. |
| 10. Tishru, Tisheth   | = December-January   |
| 11. Shabat, Shbat   | = January-February.  |
| 12. Adar, Adar  | = February-March.    |

Each month had thirty days; and in order to always secure the proper agreement with the sun, a whole month was inserted at fixed intervals, either a second Elul or a second Adar. The year began on the first of Nisan (spring equinox), but there must have been occasionally another New Year's Day on the first of Tishri, as is proved by the insertion of Elul next to Adar, by the name Tishritu itself (= Beginning, a meaning, however, which Nisanu also appears to possess), and finally, by the usage of the Jews, who always celebrate their New Year on the first of Tishri.

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# Map of the LANDS of the BIBLE



